

Deadlock in
Yugoslavia

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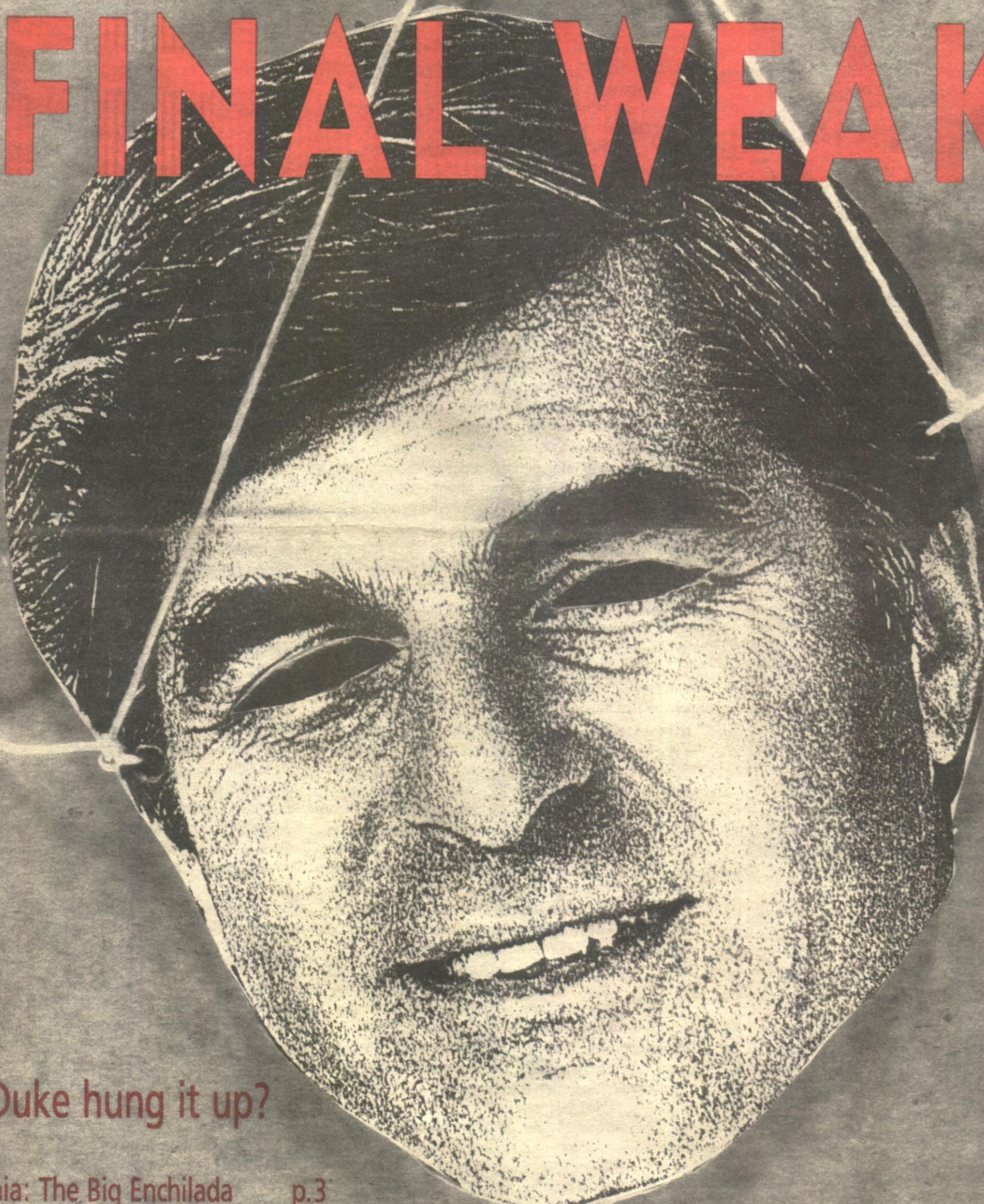
IN THESE TIMES

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FINAL WEAK



Has Duke hung it up?

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The New Alliance Party's Dr. Lenora Fulani

New Alliance Party's questionable roots

By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

On this city's South Side last week two young black women burst into an "el" train car and suddenly began extolling a "bold black woman" who is running for president. Articulate as well as audacious, the women—who turned out to be college students—delighted the city-wearied commuters with their impassioned appeals for Dr. Lenora Fulani, presidential candidate of the New Alliance Party (NAP).

While most of the commuters seemed unaware of Fulani's campaign, many expressed interest in the literature distributed by the exuberant students. Scenes similar to this are being repeated throughout the country, particularly in neighborhoods that strongly supported Jesse Jackson's candidacy. And it is having some effect; Fulani's name has become well-known among black students on many college campuses, and an increasing number of prominent African-Americans have endorsed her effort. But some of Fulani's tactics seem disingenuous at best. And, more significantly, the group she represents has a history that converges with that of Lyndon LaRouche's neo-fascist National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) and shares some of the LaRouchites' cultlike aspects.

Fulani's allure: Although Jackson passed the political torch to Michael Dukakis, the Massachusetts governor's masochistic campaign has disgusted most Jackson supporters. The Fulani campaign seems tailor-made for those

most disenchanted with the Democratic candidate. This manifestly intelligent black woman is a self-professed progressive with the organizational wherewithal to win ballot spots in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. She has also qualified for federal matching funds. In fact, the Fulani campaign's stated objective is "to teach the Democrats a lesson" by transferring enough votes to ensure a Republican victory. "The Fulani campaign legitimizes the alienation that blacks feel about this election choice of the lesser of two evils," explained Annie Roboff, Fulani's press secretary. "Our agenda, 'the rainbow agenda,' is being ignored to such a degree by both political parties that we refuse to let our votes be taken for granted again."

When reminded that such a strategy probably would help perpetuate those Republican policies that have ignored the crises of inner-city America, Roboff scoffed. "Black Americans have suffered under Democratic and Republican regimes," she said. "It doesn't matter."

NAP's history: Fulani touts NAP as an independent black-led affair, but critics contend that image is just a facade. Dennis Serrette, a black labor organizer who broke with NAP after his 1984 campaign as its presidential candidate, has charged that the group is really run by a white man named Fred Newman.

According to Chip Berlet, who wrote a 1987 pamphlet titled "Clouds Blur the Rainbow: The Other Side of the New Alliance Party," Newman is a former member of LaRouche's NCLC. "He came out of the ferment of New York City's New Left," Berlet told *In These Times*. "Many different strands of that movement were crossing paths in those days, so it's unfair to imply negative things about Newman just because he was aligned with LaRouche then." In fact, LaRouche himself once was regarded as an effective, if bizarre, left organizer.

"But even after Newman split with LaRouche and founded the IWP [International Workers Party] in 1974, their groups shared a common belief about the link between psychology and politics," Berlet explained. That emphasis on the psychodynamics of political organizing demands a cultlike conformity and obedience among Newman's core group of followers, he added.

Berlet is a researcher with Political Research Associates, a Massachusetts-based firm that studies authoritarian movements. He is considered one of the country's foremost authorities on LaRouche's far-flung intrigues. Berlet said he had long resisted writing about NAP for fear of tainting the group merely because of its association with NCLC. "But," he added, "I was assigned to research the group, and my findings confirmed my worst suspicions that it was a therapy cult."

Little deceptions: The two college women on the Chicago "el" had never heard of the IWP and knew of Newman only as Fulani's campaign manager. What they did know was that a black woman like themselves was running a serious left campaign for the presidency of the U.S. Berlet said his research indicates that many of Fulani's supporters know little about NAP's history. "What makes it even more difficult," he said, "is that many of Fulani's positions are overwhelmingly positive. She stands for a lot of issues that our country needs to deal with." The NAP platform calls for free education from day care to graduate school, more housing and increased funding for non-nuclear energy sources, a full range of remedial social programs and a moratorium on farm foreclosures. Fulani is an impressive figure. The 38-year-old New York native is the director of clinics at the New York Institute for Social Therapy and Research. She has a doctorate in developmental psychology from the City University of New York and, according to Berlet, is a member of NAP's inner circle. But, he added, NAP has no loyalty to those issues it champions so ardently; the group is milking the passions of the moment simply to nourish its own growth. For example, Berlet noted, Newman penned many negative assessments of Jackson in 1983, but became a supporter a little later. "Now NAP is distancing itself from him again. That kind of shift is indicative of how 'Newmanites' attempt to use whatever they can to gain increased influence."

The group is regarded with suspicion, if not outright hostility, by many on the left. Some of that antipathy can be traced to envy of their organizing prowess or the sectarian tradition of the U.S. left. But longtime observers of

the group maintain it is a divisive force that opportunistically exploits issues for its own aggrandizement. Berlet noted that virtually every left organization he has studied has negative appraisals of the group.

Roboff dismissed Berlet's pamphlet as "old, unproven charges that link us to LaRouche that he's trying to pass off as legitimate research." She charged that Berlet represents people "who have a lot to lose by the New Alliance Party's success. We have absolutely no connection to right-winger Lyndon LaRouche and those who claim we do are disguising another agenda."

Fulani said she supported Jackson's Democratic candidacy until the Atlanta convention made it clear he would get nothing substantial for his efforts. "From the outset I followed an approach I called 'the two-roads approach,'" she said in a recent speech. "That is, support Jesse strongly in the Democratic primaries while preparing to run an independent campaign if he should lose."

But NAP had long been urging Jackson followers to join them in an independent party. In fact, at the 1984 founding conference of the National Rainbow Coalition, NAP operatives used every opportunity to sow dissatisfaction about Jackson's allegiance to the Democratic Party. At the time, however, Newman's followers called themselves the Rainbow Alliance—a name they later were forced to discard under pressure from Jackson's Rainbow.

INSIDE STORY

The Muslim connection: NAP also has aligned itself with Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam (NOI). Farrakhan is prominently featured in the group's black-oriented literature, and Fulani makes regular appearances at NOI events. The association is mutually beneficial: Fulani gains a peculiar grass-roots authenticity by her association with the Black Muslims, and the NOI gets the kind of "movement" credibility it publicly disparages but privately covets.

But otherwise the link between NAP and NOI is difficult to understand: the two groups disagree strongly on major issues like gay rights, abortion, welfare policies and racial integration. The NOI has not officially endorsed her campaign, though her campaign literature strongly implies that it has. Still, Farrakhan followers make no secret of their association with Fulani and NAP.

"I think the Nation was inching toward actually endorsing Fulani until some of Farrakhan's aides and I had a talk about the history of the New Alliance Party," explained Conrad Worrill, head of the National Black United Front, the country's largest secular black nationalist group. Worrill said he sees a danger in Fulani's growing popularity. "Many black people feel an emotional attachment to Fulani. She's poised, she's articulate and well-grounded on the issues and openly proud of her blackness. But she's dangerous because she's a pawn in a group that doesn't have black people's best interests at heart," Worrill said.

Growing support: Yet in recent days Fulani has attracted increasing black support. Earl Caldwell, a black columnist for the *New York Daily News*, recently wrote a complimentary column on her campaign; Tony Brown, an eccentric syndicated columnist and host of *Tony Brown's Journal* on PBS, also wrote good words about Fulani. In addition, she received enthusiastic endorsements from several black newspapers around the country and gained the support of several black elected officials, including Dallas Deputy Mayor Diane Ragsdale and Nebraska's lone black state legislator, Ernie Chambers. Several colleges, particularly those that are predominantly black, have active Fulani support groups. And the widely unpopular Rev. Al Sharpton is also a strong supporter.

"I'm not surprised at the support she's attracting," Berlet said. "If you don't know the history of the group, Fulani's program sounds real good." In the face of Dukakis' seeming determination to self-destruct, in fact, her campaign sounds too good to be true. Unfortunately, it is. □

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By Paul Rauber

SAN DIEGO

CALIFORNIANS OFTEN THINK OF THEMSELVES as something of a nation apart. This conceit is encouraged by the attention lavished upon them every four years by the presidential candidates. California can make or break a campaign: its 47 electoral votes make it the Big Enchilada of national politics.

Paradoxically, this heavily Democratic state (latest figures show Democrats with a 51-percent to 38-percent registration edge over Republicans) has been cruel in recent

CAMPAIGN 88

The campaign is attempting an unusual precinct-based, grass-roots push.

years to the majority party candidates. The last Democrat to win the state was Lyndon Johnson in 1964; before him it was Harry Truman in 1948. For Democrats, the Big Enchilada has been hard to digest.

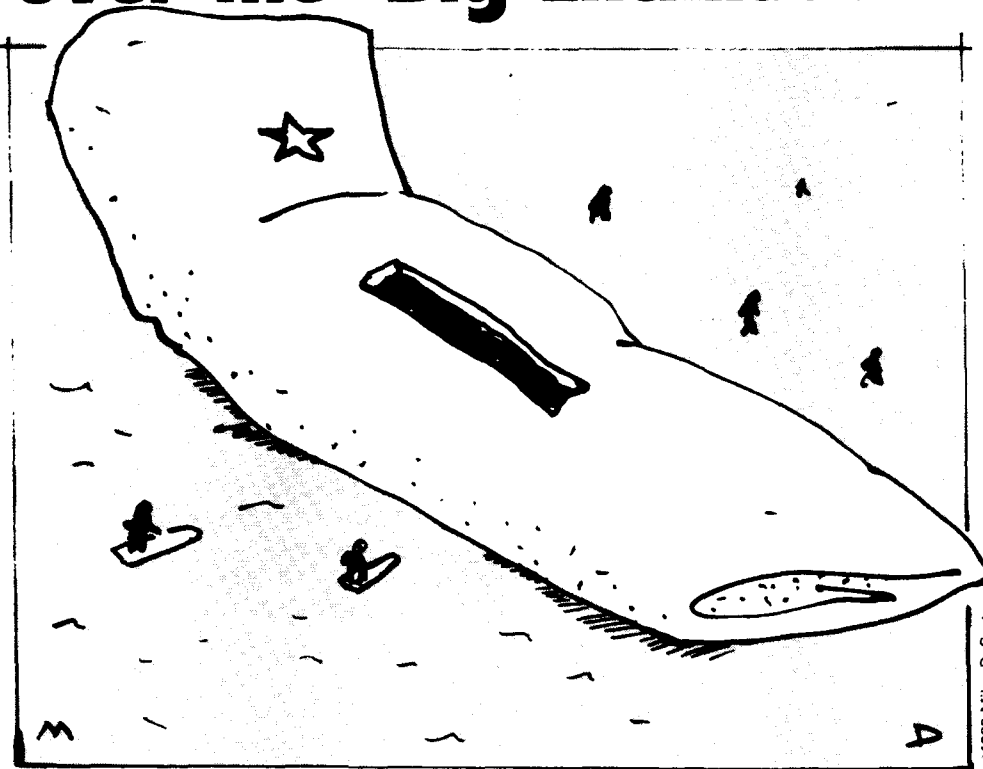
This year, however, it will be virtually impossible for Michael Dukakis to win without California. Of the 18 states identified as key by his national campaign, California is the most important, and the Democrats are spending lavishly to bring the state back into the fold. Their strategy is simple yet bold—a return to the precinct-based, grass-roots organizing that was the norm before the ascendancy in the '70s of the media campaign. It hopes to turn out a million more voters for Dukakis than voted for Walter Mondale in 1984.

"The accepted wisdom is that you can't do a grass-roots campaign in California," said Larry Tramutola, a former United Farm Workers organizer who is coordinating the statewide precinct campaign. "The state is too big, and the tradition is one of mail and media. There hasn't really been a place traditionally for the average person to plug into the campaign. We're trying to prove those old theories wrong."

Tramutola is one of the leading exponents of what might be called the neo-grass-roots movement, which was used to great effect in Alan Cranston's tough Senate re-election race against Ed Zschau in 1986 and in last year's successful attempt to elect Art Agnos mayor of San Francisco, and which now forms the mainstay of Anna Eshoo's attempt to wrest the 12th Congressional District from Republican hands (see *In These Times*, October 15).

"If you look at elections in California over the last 20 years," said Tramutola, "they're either landslides or very, very close. Cranston was elected senator by only five votes per precinct. [Los Angeles Mayor Tom] Bradley lost governor by less than four votes per precinct.... If you're looking at a close election, it's possible to increase your turn-

California: Duke drools over the 'Big Enchilada'



out by a portion that will affect the outcome."

With \$4.5 million from the state party, Dukakis' grass-roots campaign has hired 500 field organizers, a dramatic shift from past practice in the state. The organizers' task is to find precinct leaders who will personally contact not only local voters in each of the state's 5,000 solidly Democratic precincts, but also occasional voters, who have voted

only once in the last three elections, and even the Reagan Democrats, who are well-represented in California. Each precinct leader must find two assistants and is required to report to the organizer each evening on the day's progress.

"The whole purpose is to build a personal relationship, because you know neither of the candidates is thrilling," said Tina Hester,

head of the Dukakis campaign in San Diego County. "It's not Jesse Jackson out there at the top of the ticket, so you need that personal relationship to get people to the polls."

Hester is a Washington staffer for the liberal lobbying group People for the American Way, whose director, Tony Podesta, is running the state campaign. The wholesale importation of campaign staff from out of state annoyed many local pols at first, but after several weeks the egos have been massaged back into relative quietude, and the campaign now seems to be running fairly smoothly.

Why Bush? In San Diego's La Mesa suburb, a Republican stronghold, this reporter accompanied precinct captain Phil Smallen on his rounds as he charmed elderly women in a retirement home. An old socialist from the '30s, it was Smallen's first campaign, which he said he was enjoying thoroughly.

"I'm thinking about changing my vote," he would say to any Republicans he encountered, with a rouguish smile. "But I want to know why I should vote for Bush."

He would invariably get an answer about Dukakis' liberalism or softness on crime. Smallen would respond, "I understand that, but why should I vote for Bush?" Eventually someone took offense and had him kicked out of the building. Grass-roots democracy in California in the late '80s is an uphill effort.

"I wish Dukakis would just come out and say, 'Yes, I'm a liberal—an FDR, Harry Truman, Jack Kennedy liberal,'" said Smallen as we searched for a new apartment building. "Liberals gave the country Social Security, Medicare, civil rights—what have the Repub-

Continued on page 22

California ballot has 28 propositions, including scary choice on AIDS

Pity the California voter. This November's state ballot will include, in addition to national, state and local races, 28 different propositions, ranging from prison construction bonds to a 25-cent additional tax on a pack of cigarettes. The bewildering profusion is the legacy of California's Progressive Movement, which in 1911 made it relatively easy for citizen initiatives to be placed on the ballot.

Since the passage 10 years ago of the devastating tax-cutting Proposition 13, however, the initiative process has come to be dominated more and more either by large bond issues for social measures the legislature does not have the political will to fund or by industry-sponsored measures the legislature could not pass.

Most notable this year are the five propositions that deal with auto insurance. They pit insurance companies, trial lawyers and consumers against each other in various combinations. The enormous stakes can be judged by the unprecedented \$65 million that is expected to be poured into the insurance battle.

Prop 100 is backed by an alliance of trial lawyers, the state's Democratic Attorney General John Van de Kamp and some consumer groups; it guarantees a 20-percent discount for good drivers and comparative information on insurance rates for consumers. Democratic Assembly member Richard Polanco came up with his own Prop 101, which would re-

duce basic insurance rates but also limit "pain and suffering"-type damage claims, as well as lawyers' contingency fees.

Of course, the lawyers don't like that, but they save their main fire for the insurance companies' showpiece, Prop 104. More than \$40 million is being spent to promote this no-fault measure that strictly limits attorneys' fees in damage lawsuits. Another insurance-sponsored initiative is Prop 106, which would sharply limit contingency fees in all tort cases, including medical malpractice. It would save the insurance companies money because fewer cases would go to trial—and best of all, from their perspective, it would aggravate the lawyers.

Finally, there's Prop 103, sponsored by Ralph Nader and a group called Voter Revolt. It cuts rates 20 percent, institutes a good-driver discount and establishes an elected insurance commissioner who would have to approve any proposed rate increase. It makes the insurance companies completely apoplectic: State Farm has already sent letters to all its customers threatening to withdraw from the state should it pass.

At this point polls show all five initiatives failing, although 103 has the highest favorable rating and has the best chance of passage; its ratings go even higher when respondents hear it is being backed by Nader. Ratings for 104 plummet when voters hear who is backing it. (Another initiative on the ballot, 105, would force advertisements for future initiatives to

clearly disclose which industry or organization is supplying the cash.)

Also on the California ballot are two AIDS-related initiatives. It all started two years ago with Prop 64, a draconian AIDS-testing and quarantine measure sponsored by Lyndon LaRouche followers that was defeated handily at the polls. This year, however, the battle hasn't been as easy because the two AIDS measures are backed by ostensibly respectable sources.

Prop 96, supported primarily by law enforcement groups, would require AIDS tests of suspects in sexual crimes or assaults on police officers. More wide-ranging is Prop 102, which many AIDS experts say is worse than the LaRouche measure. Like 96, 102 would require an AIDS test of anyone charged with sexual crimes or assault, but would require such tests whether or not bodily fluids were exchanged. It would also require doctors to report their suspicions that people were infected by AIDS to health officials, require AIDS sufferers to report themselves and their contacts and allow the results of AIDS tests to be used in hiring decisions and insurance eligibility. AIDS experts fear that 102 would lead people suffering from AIDS to avoid testing, resulting in a further spread of the disease.

Ironically, Prop 102 is being sponsored by anti-tax crusader Paul Gann, the same man who gave California Prop 13. Gann contracted AIDS through a blood transfusion, and is making the issue his last political battle.

—P.R.

By Joel Bleifuss

13 hostages return to court

Among those who are taking seriously evidence that the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign cut a deal with Iran to delay the release of 52 American hostages until after that year's GOP election victory are some of the hostages themselves. Last week Jim Davis, an attorney for 13 former hostages—citing new information that recently has come to light about the alleged arms-for-hostages deal—asked the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., to rehear a suit he originally filed on behalf of the hostages in June 1981. That suit, which asked \$5 million for each hostage, challenged the agreement between the U.S. and Iran that set the hostages free but barred them from suing for damages. In requesting a rehearing Davis mentioned "recently declassified top-secret documents about the negotiations and agreements related to the release of the hostages" as well as the testimony of Oregon arms dealer Richard Brenneke, who testified in federal court that he was a participant in a 1980 arms-for-hostages deal between Iran and Reagan campaign officials. Davis told *In These Times* that once the federal appellate court has made a ruling, he and his clients will decide whether to "expand the suit to include individuals in addition to the [U.S. and Iranian governments]." He would not speculate on who those individuals might be, but his petition requesting a new hearing refers to "private parties such as William V. Casey, later director of the CIA, as well as persons at least arguably employed by the U.S. government through CIA 'dummy' organizations."

Where was George?

Colorado gold dealer and sometimes-pilot Heinrich "Harry" Rupp claims to have flown 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign director William Casey to Le Bourget Airport outside Paris on the night of Oct. 18, 1980. In addition, Rupp claims that he saw vice-presidential candidate George Bush on the tarmac at Le Bourget Airport. Two other sources, both of whom are veterans of the intelligence business who will not go on record, have told reporters that they learned after the fact that George Bush had been in Paris. Although Bush's staff and the Secret Service deny that he was in Paris on October 18 or 19, he was not seen in public for 21 consecutive hours on those dates—enough time to fly to Paris, attend a meeting and fly back. Rupp was convicted this year in a 1985 bank fraud case. He maintains that he was working on a sanctioned CIA operation at the time. Rupp's allegation came to light after arms dealer Richard Brenneke, a friend of Rupp's who testified in his defense, told a federal court in Denver that he was present at the third of three meetings held in Paris on Oct. 19 and 20, 1980, in which details of the alleged deal were made final. Brenneke says that soon-to-be CIA Director William Casey and the vice president's future foreign policy adviser, Donald Gregg, also attended that meeting.

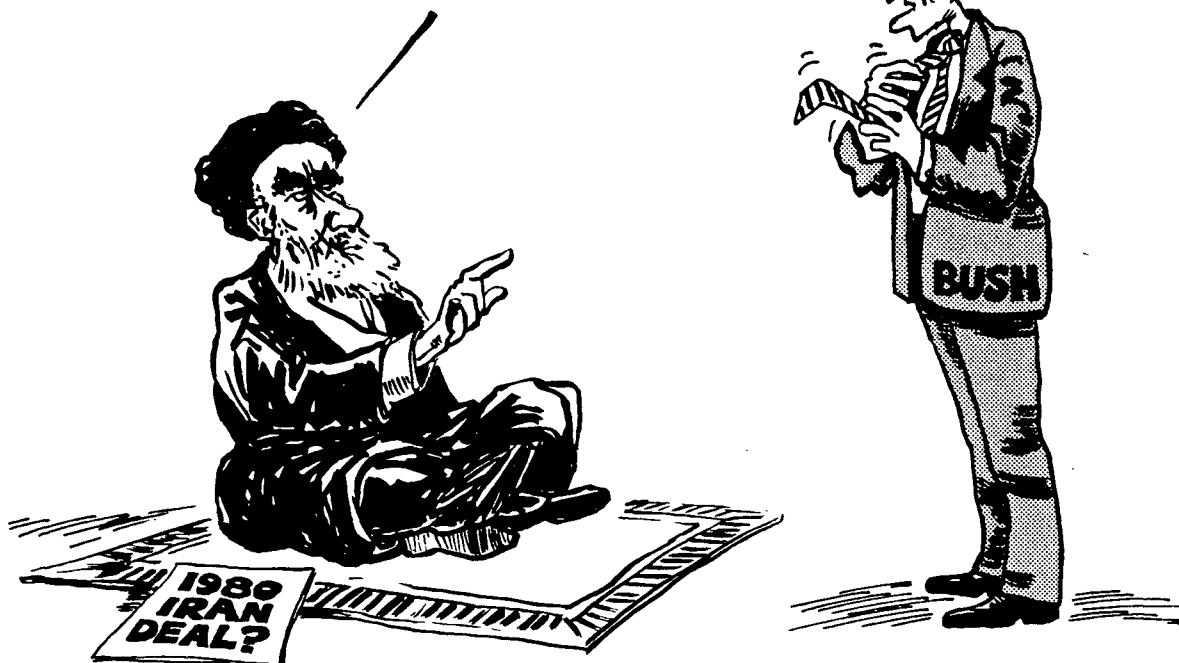
The missing witness

Rupp is now at the Bureau of Prisons' Federal Medical Center in Rochester, Minn. He seems to be held incommunicado, beyond the reach of his attorney and the press. Mike Scott, Rupp's lawyer, last spoke with his client on October 18 when Rupp called him. "I have spent as long as 35 minutes on the phone trying to get a message to him. People I talk to [at the prison] won't tell me who they are," says the Denver-based attorney. On October 27, as *In These Times* went to press, Scott flew out to Minnesota to see if it was possible to speak to Rupp in person. He says this is the first time he has had "this big a problem" reaching a client. "I would hate to think it is anything other than incompetence," says Scott. "Harry [Rupp] says he doesn't get any messages. He seems to be frightened." Rupp became difficult to reach on October 6 when federal authorities transferred Rupp from Denver to a prison in Oklahoma. He was held there before being sent to Rochester where he is undergoing a court-ordered psychological and medical examination. Rupp is reported to be suffering from a serious skin condition that he believes is the result of exposure to Agent Orange while in Vietnam.

Another channel

On October 15 Richard Brenneke called Kenneth Qualls, the manager of Tiger Air, the airline company that owned the BAC 1-11 jet Rupp claims to have flown to Paris. Qualls is an acquaintance of Rupp's. Tiger Air has in the past been a CIA front. Brenneke—who secretly taped the conversation—asked Qualls to help him

LET'S SEE IF I UNDERSTAND —
THIS TIME IT WOULD BE
PREFERABLE IF THE HOSTAGES
WERE RELEASED BEFORE THE ELECTION



Shades of white supremacy

DENVER, COLO.—John Tanton is the founder of U.S. English, a group that campaigns across the country for English to be adopted as the official U.S. language. Tanton is not only concerned with the cultural rot resulting from undue alien influences like use of the Spanish language, he is also worried that minority groups could take jobs and political power from whites.

Tanton wrote in an October 1986 essay, "As whites see their power and control over their lives declining, will they simply go quietly into the night? Or will there be an explosion? Why don't non-Hispanic whites have a group identity, as do blacks, Jews, Hispanics?"

To avert that "explosion," to help protect "non-Hispanic white" identity, the Washington, D.C.-based U.S. English has this fall sponsored referendums in Florida, Arizona and Colorado that would make English the official language of those states.

According to Tanton, a lot is at stake. He wrote, "Is apartheid in Southern California's future? The demographic picture in South Africa now is startlingly similar to what we'll see in California in 2030.... In South Africa, a white minority...speaks one language. A non-white majority...speaks a different language.

"In the California of 2030, the non-Hispanic whites and Asians will own the property, have the good jobs and education, speak one language and be mostly Protestant and 'other.' The blacks and Hispanics will have the poor jobs, will lack education, own

little property, speak another language and will be mainly Catholic. Will there be strength in this diversity? Or will this prove a social and political San Andreas Fault? ...Will Latin American migrants bring with them the tradition of *mordida* [bribery], the lack of involvement in public affairs, etc.?"

Last month former Colorado Govs. Richard Lamm and John Love co-authored an op-ed piece titled "Apartheid American Style" that basically took the same position as Tanton. Both the Tanton and the Lamm/Love pieces blame the victim for difficulty assimilating. The fact is it was only a little more than 40 years ago when signs could be seen in Colorado restaurants that read, "No Niggers, Mexicans or Dogs Allowed." The question for Tanton, Lamm and Love is, who was refusing to assimilate?

Last year Lamm received money from Tanton to help found a think tank from which Lamm could continue his xenophobic crusade against immigrants. That organization, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, a sister organization to U.S. English, helped publish and promote Lamm's book, *Immigration Time Bomb*.

In his book, Lamm wrote, "Some Americans doubt American culture. Some are embarrassed by it. Why would some Americans be reluctant to defend our common culture against the divisiveness of pluralism? First, we Americans are tolerant of the differences among cultures, more open to accept the values of other cultures than any other society on Earth, and reluctant to impose our own culture on others. That's laudable—unless it prevents

us from preserving our culture for our own descendants."

Lamm ironically has now come out against the amendment sponsored by U.S. English. He recently said that the amendment is too vaguely drawn and is not worth the divisiveness it apparently causes.

With the release of the 1986 Tanton essay has come a public outcry. His sharpest statements harken back to the anti-Catholicism of the Ku Klux Klan. "What are the implications of the changes for separation of church and state?" he wondered. "The Catholic Church has never been reticent on this point. If they get a majority of the voters, will they pitch out this concept? ...Keep in mind that many of the Vietnamese coming in are also Catholic.... Is there anything to be said about the Eastern religions that will come along with the Asians?"

In October veteran CBS broadcaster Walter Cronkite withdrew from the advisory board of U.S. English. In his letter of resignation to the president of U.S. English, political and cultural chameleon Linda Chavez, Cronkite wrote, "For your information, I remain firmly opposed to bilingualism in the Canadian pattern, but I also cannot favor legislation that could even remotely be interpreted to restrict the civil rights or the educational opportunities of our minority population."

A few days later, Chavez herself resigned from U.S. English, citing the bizarre hidden agendas of some of its members, like population control through forced sterilization.

It was then Tanton's turn. He resigned from the organization he founded.

—Richard Castro and Matt Levy

Referendum taxes the integrity of the abortion debate

Grab a few extras off the set of *thirty-something*. Tell them to talk about abortion. Within seconds they've dismissed the morality issues, the social questions, the legal dilemmas—they're talking about money. (Their own, of course.) The conclusion? "It's not fair to force taxpayers to pay for abortions."

That's a scenario Michigan voters are seeing replayed each night on their TV screens, courtesy of the Committee to End Tax-Funded Abortion. The commercial urges viewers to save tax dollars by voting "yes" on Proposition A, a ballot referendum that, if passed, will end Medicaid-funded abortions in the state.

"What we're seeing in Michigan is the test run of a whole new set of tactics behind the right-to-life movement," says Jeremy Karparkin, campaign manager of the Peoples Campaign for Choice, the coalition working to defeat the measure. "They've finally realized that getting arrested or bombing abortion clinics or waving dead fetuses around is not the way to go."

When this realization struck Michigan's anti-abortion organizers they went straight to the top for advice, enlisting right-wing media consultant Roger Ailes, the man credited with masterminding George Bush's attack-oriented presidential campaign. It was Ailes' production com-

pany that created the "yuppie lunch" TV spots that equate a vote for Proposition A with a vote against Michigan's welfare program and its dark-skinned beneficiaries.

Shifting debate on Proposition A from abortion to taxes was a wise move, since "the welfare budget in Michigan is always the most controversial component of state appropriations," says Rosanne Less. Less is a contributing editor to *Metro Times*, Detroit's alternative weekly newspaper. In general, she says, those who live outside the state's major cities resent seeing their tax dollars pay for social programs that they believe benefit only Detroit's inner-city poor. With that in mind, anti-abortion organizers are attempting to direct that resentment against the approximately \$5.6 million Michigan spends each year on about 18,000 Medicaid abortions.

Put on the defensive by the opposition's tactics, the Peoples Campaign for Choice has responded with a TV ad campaign. Its cynicism rivals that of the anti-abortion effort. Says Karparkin, "A Medicaid abortion costs about \$300. The cost of bringing a pregnancy to term is about \$3,000, and the cost of supporting someone on public assistance for 18 years is something like \$30,000. His group's commercials drive that point home, portraying Medicaid abortion as a kind of Dickensian investment that will ultimately prevent an increase in the welfare roles.

Defending his group's approach, Karparkin says, "It was the other side that opened that issue up." Those who support equal access to abor-

tion condone "doing anything that is necessary" to retain it, he says, and they understand that the pro-choice side is "the underdog" in the current race.

It is true that the Peoples Campaign cannot compete with the institutional strength and fund-raising capacity of Right to Life of Michigan. That group has been active in Michigan politics for 15 years and entered the campaign with a well-established network of foot soldiers, donors and organizers.

To determine just how well-organized the group is, Less, whose in-depth article on Proposition A was recently published in *Metro Times*, went undercover last month and attended Right to Life of Michigan's annual convention. In just one fund-raising session, she says, 400 people contributed \$9,141 to help finance the Proposition A campaign. The plea of the event's organizers was: "If we have no money we have no message. If we have no message we have no votes. If we have no votes we have no babies."

Nationwide since 1978 there have been eight state referendums seeking to restrict publicly funded abortion, all of them spearheaded by local groups like Right to Life of Michigan. Only one—Colorado's in 1984—has succeeded. This year the question is on the ballot in three states: Colorado, where pro-choice activists are attempting to reverse their 1984 defeat; Arkansas, where a similar referendum failed by 591 votes two years ago; and Michigan.

—Denise Rinaldo

Nicaragua confronts yet another disaster

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA—In its recent history Nicaragua has experienced volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, drought, floods, foreign occupation, revolutionary war, counter-revolutionary war and now a killer hurricane. All that's left would be a plague of locusts, and even that may loom on the horizon as waves of the insects are now attacking various Caribbean islands after hitchhiking across from Africa with Hurricane Joan.

At first Joan seemed to be teasing, hovering menacingly off Nicaragua's Atlantic coast for several days. But then it slammed into Nicaragua with devastating force, packing 130 mph winds and torrential rains. After leveling tiny Corn Island, along the coast, the storm turned the port city of Bluefields into piles of rubble and cut a path of destruction across the country.

Devastation is almost total in many other towns and villages, including Rama, 50 miles inland. From the air the region looks like an enormous muddy lake. All that is visible of Rama are rusty zinc roofs poking above the floodwaters and town residents clustered in makeshift lean-tos on nearby hillsides.

Despite the massive destruction, the death toll is under 100. Credit for this must be given to the extensive preparations undertaken before Joan's arrival, as 200,000 people were evacuated to safer areas.

The scene in Bluefields, Nicaragua's famed center of Afro-Carib culture, is one of utter devastation. Only six buildings in what was a city of 38,000 inhabitants remain relatively undamaged. Most houses were reduced to mounds of boards and corrugated zinc roofing. Debris litters the streets and power lines hang from their broken poles. Residents remain in a state of collective shock as they slowly begin hammering what's left of their homes back together.

"It's something I can't understand, really. I feel like I'm still sleeping. I'm walking, but I don't know how I'm walking," said one resident. "I look around, and everywhere I see the same thing: everything broken up, all the people begging because they don't have anything. I hardly know what street I'm on."

Joan's damage to Nicaragua's already weakened economy is expected to total millions of dollars, especially to crop fields and fisheries. Port facilities and other industries in the Bluefields area are a total loss, as is the city's charming colonial English architecture.

Relief efforts include a nationwide

campaign to send clothing, building supplies and other provisions to the affected areas. Cuba, Mexico and various countries in Europe, Latin America and the Eastern bloc are sending aid.

After proclaiming a state of emergency as the storm neared, President Daniel Ortega personally supervised handling the situation, saying the hurricane presented the worst crisis he has had to handle as Nicaraguan president. Asked if Nicaragua would accept U.S. government aid if offered, he said the best help Washington could give would be to cease support for the contras. But if aid was unconditional, he said, Nicaragua would receive it.

However, a Reagan administration official indicated no official aid was likely because "the Sandinistas could use the aid against the contras." For their part, the contras carried out several actions precisely as catastrophe loomed, including an attack on an ambulance transporting a wounded child in Nueva Guinea. The ambulance belonged to the French agency Doctors Without Borders. The attack left the driver wounded.

—William Gasperini

Readers wishing to aid hurricane victims in Nicaragua can send tax-deductible donations to Quest for Peace's Hurricane Relief Fund, P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, Md. 20782.

clear their mutual friend. *In These Times* obtained a transcript of that tape from the *Boston Globe*. Portions of that transcript follow.

Brenneke: I'm going to try and help out, to reduce the sentence or get a new trial for [Rupp].

Qualls: Yeah, that would be perfect if you could do it without implicating anyone.

Brenneke: The tough part is that people are going to be implicated, but those who will probably aren't worthy of great salvation anyways. I don't think this is right to use as a jumping-off point to go after the president of the United States.

Qualls: You know, like I told the press, "You guys don't understand the world. Take people that have been around, and I have been around. So what if somebody gave somebody \$40 million for 52 hostages? They're alive aren't they? If they're alive then who cares? I mean, who really cares?" I said, "Who cares if he was there and he lied?" You know, the fact is that he made a deal, and I said, "Deals like that are made in the Middle East all the time, and if you don't believe me, read the Koran." I said, "The potato farmer in Iowa is going to be pissed at Bush and want an impeachment. But the people that know about the world are gonna say, 'Hey, they did what they had to do. Carter wasn't going to do shit.'"

[Later Qualls suggested that Brenneke try to get Rupp pardoned.]

Qualls: You might want to try a pardon. That might be something. Let me tell you this: the Bush people are aware of what is going on, because I've talked to them. They are very much aware of Harry [Rupp].... I told 'em what everybody's going through. I said, "You know, if you need it, I'll make a statement saying I don't know shit about nothin' and they're barking up the wrong tree." But that may be an avenue.

Brenneke: What avenues did you try in the Republican side?

Qualls: I'd go to [Bush campaign director James] Baker. I got word to him through my channel.

The presses creak

The mainstream media is beginning to show a limited interest in the alleged 1980 arms-for-hostages deal. Several major dailies—including the *Boston Globe*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Portland Oregonian*, the *Rocky Mountain News*, the *Washington Post* and the *Oakland Tribune*—have examined the alleged conspiracy. Most of them expressed a good deal of skepticism about the veracity of allegations and evidence, first published by *In These Times*, that suggested the alleged deal took place. But even the newspapers that took the allegations lightly provided important new insights and information about the alleged Reagan-Iran trade. Some highlights:

The Boston Globe: An article by Ben Bradlee Jr. and Richard Higgins added compelling new information to the public record, particularly the Qualls-Brenneke conversation excerpted above. One of the most interesting statements in the *Globe* article came from Reagan's former secretary of state, Alexander Haig, who said: "My suspicion is that it's not true. On the other hand, I'm not confident that it's not." Another comes from Stansfield Turner, Carter's director of the CIA at the time of the alleged deal: "I've seen no hard evidence a deal was made, but I'm persuaded that some meetings took place that could have lead to a deal."

The Los Angeles Times: The most intriguing statement in an article by Doyle McManus came from Gary Sick, the man who managed the hostage negotiations under President Carter. "There obviously is no smoking gun here, but there is an accumulating body of circumstantial evidence," said Sick, who added, "I used to pooh-pooh these charges. I don't do that anymore."

The Oakland Tribune: In an editorial, the *Tribune* gave a concise summary of the information now available. The editorial, which ran over two days, concluded: "As Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV) told his colleagues last year, 'The secret policy of arming the ayatollah may even have begun early in the '80s. This bribery and ransom strategy was on the minds of the inner circle of presidential advisers even before the [Reagan] administration took office.... This opens up disturbing questions about the longevity of this ill-conceived arms-for-hostages strategy. It needs further investigation, in my judgment.' But the Iran-contra committees of Congress ducked this inflammatory issue, leaving the allegations unresolved. But when the issue is treason, and when one of the accused is running for president of the United States, the facts demand a thorough accounting."

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

DURING HIS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN George Bush has drawn a sharp contrast between his own conservative positions and Michael Dukakis' alleged liberal stances. But on most substantive questions that directly affect how a president will govern, Bush has not displayed dramatic differences from Dukakis.

Even more revealing has been the conduct of the Reagan administration, which since early summer has coordinated its decisions with the Bush campaign. Recent administration appointments and policy decisions have resembled those of the moderate Gerald Ford administration rather than the 1981-87 Reagan administration.

Moderate appointments: In July Reagan named former Pennsylvania Gov. Dick Thornburgh to succeed Attorney General Edwin Meese. In August he nominated Lauro F. Cavazos, president of Texas Tech University, to succeed Secretary of Education William Bennett; and banker Nicholas Brady to succeed Secretary of the Treasury James Baker, who resigned to run the Bush campaign. Each is likely to keep his position in a Bush administration, and each is known as a political moderate.

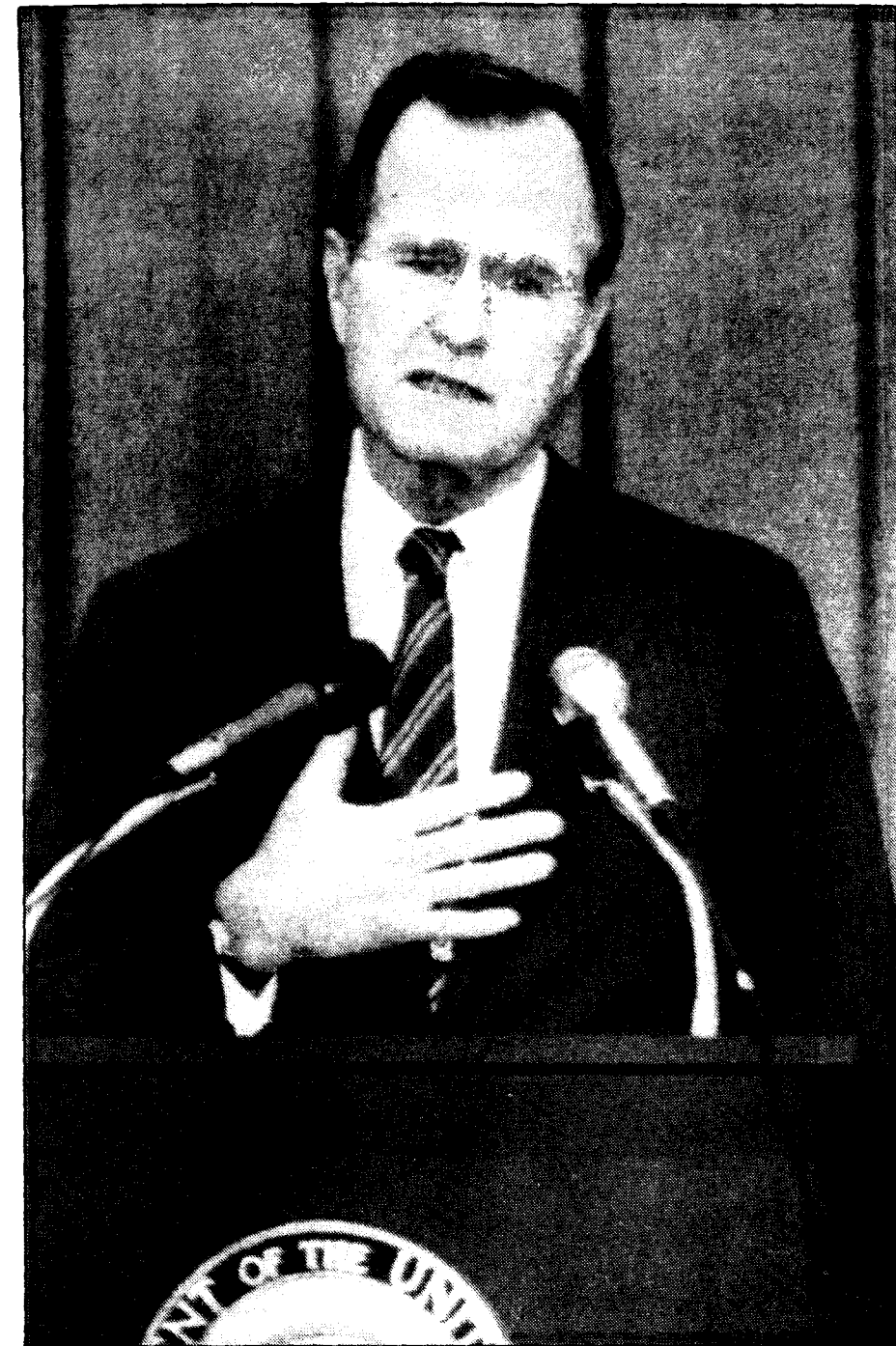
Thornburgh, a former member of the Pittsburgh chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), ran one of the most scandal-free administrations in Pennsylvania history. Since becoming attorney general Thornburgh has angered conservatives by calling for a review of Justice Department ethics and of the relationship between the president and the attorney general. Former Meese speechwriter Gary McDowell accused Thornburgh of being "more sensitive to politics and his own media image than he is dedicated to the president's principles."

To cover the Bush campaign's flank Thornburgh claimed that he left the ACLU in 1969 because he disagreed with its "political agenda." But Thornburgh has already rescinded important Meese initiatives. In 1986 Meese had ruled that people with AIDS were not covered by a 1973 law that barred the government and recipients of federal funds from discriminating against the handicapped. Last month Thornburgh reversed Meese's decision.

Bush operatives wanted Reagan to appoint Cavazos secretary of education in order to attract the Hispanic vote in the Southwest. Bush himself swore Cavazos in. A registered Democrat, Cavazos promised in a recent press conference to fund education programs "at the highest level possible." Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, described Cavazos as a "man who shares our views about the importance of education."

Brady, an investment banker at Dillon, Read, is a former senator from New Jersey and a close friend of Bush and Baker. Brady chaired a commission that proposed mild reforms in the wake of the October 1987 stock market crash. And since his appointment he has continued Baker's policy of managing international trade rather than letting the dollar rise or fall according to the whims of the money markets. Brady is a typical Wall Streeter—little different from those who ran the Treasury Department in the Ford or Carter administrations.

Vetoes not taken: Reagan's last acts as leader of the hard right were his vetoes last spring of the Grove City civil rights bill and of the trade bill that required businesses to warn workers of plant closings. Bush dis-



If Quayle is no Kennedy, George Bush is no Reagan

reed with both actions, and since then has steered the administration toward the political center.

When Congress in August passed the plant-closing provision as a separate bill, Reagan allowed it to become law. Pressured by Bush, Reagan signed a fair-housing bill that expands federal powers to prevent discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.

On August 3, when Bush wanted to make an issue of Dukakis' opposition to weapons spending, Reagan vetoed Congress' Defense Department appropriation, but then settled for cosmetic changes in the final measure. Reagan also vetoed a congressional bill restricting textile imports—a stance consistent with both Bush's and Dukakis' support for free trade.

With Bush's prodding, the Reagan administration has moved to the center in less visible, but no less significant ways. In September the White House unexpectedly killed Interior Department proposals to allow strip mining on public lands, including national parks. The same month Lee Thomas, head of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), announced programs to ban ozone-threatening chemicals and to reduce solid waste.

To the dismay of conservatives, the administration has begun to abandon the Reagan Doc-

trine of backing anti-Communist insurgents around the globe. The Reagan administration recently announced that it would not seek new congressional aid for the contras. The Reagan State Department has also pressed ahead with a settlement in Angola, securing the agree-

ment of South Africa to withdraw its troops.

In the campaign itself, Bush has downplayed funding of both the contras and the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or "Star Wars"—the favorite causes of Washington conservatives. He has promised further negotiations and closer relations with the Soviet Union. At an October 18 speech in Fulton, Mo., site of Winston Churchill's famous Iron Curtain address, he turned down conservative advice to call for "free and unfettered" elections in Eastern Europe, focusing instead on his proposal to ban chemical and biological weapons.

Bush has even downplayed differences with the Democrats on economic issues. While stressing that he would not raise taxes, Bush has eschewed conservative anti-government rhetoric. He has tried to match Dukakis proposal-for-proposal on housing, welfare, child care, jobs and education. While

CAMPAIGN 88

Bush's proposals are more free-market oriented, the differences between the two men recalls Ford and Jimmy Carter in 1976 rather than Reagan and Carter in 1980.

Beyond the campaign: Few policy experts believe that Bush would move back to conventional Reaganite positions. If anything, experts here speculate that on certain questions like Star Wars Bush would move further away from the conservative agenda.

If elected, Bush would likely differ little from Dukakis' stance on military and U.S.-Soviet policy. Both are committed to further arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union. Stephen Daggett, an analyst with the Committee for National Security, thinks that Dukakis, who is not committed to SDI, would be more likely than Bush to sign a treaty, but would likely have a harder time getting it ratified by the Senate. (Carter's 1979 SALT 2 Treaty was never ratified, even by a Democratic-controlled Senate.)

Both Bush and Dukakis have pledged that, if elected, they would hold down increases in the military budget. Yet at the same time both have already overcommitted themselves in this area—Bush to maintaining

Continued on page 22

Here's the probable Bush Cabinet

If George Bush were to win, who would fill his Cabinet and other key posts? There is surprising unanimity, from the conservative *Washington Times* to the moderate *Ripon Forum*, about who Bush would choose. Here is a rundown of those positions for which there are already leading candidates:

Secretary of State: James Baker. Likely to press ahead with arms control rather than support for the contras.

Secretary of the Treasury: Nicholas Brady. Not as bold or as imaginative as Baker. Will worry about deficits but take Baker's leadership on trade and the dollar.

Secretary of Defense: Former Sen. John Tower. Feared by conservatives because he tried to soften the Republican platform stance on SDI.

Attorney General: Richard Thornburgh. Strong on anti-corruption, moderate on

civil rights.

Secretary of Labor: Current Secretary Ann McLaughlin or New Jersey Gov. Thomas Kean. As governor, Kean regularly won labor endorsements.

Secretary of Energy: New Hampshire Gov. John Sununu. Strong nuclear power proponent.

Secretary of Education: Lauro Cavazos. Will follow in Terrel Bell's footsteps rather than William Bennett's.

Director of the Office of Management and Budget: Former Treasury Undersecretary Richard Darman. Close associate of Baker. Will not indiscriminately try to ax social programs.

Chief of Staff: Vice-presidential aide Craig Fuller or Darman.

Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers: Stanford University economist Michael Boskin. Proponent of consumption tax and investment tax credits. —J.B.J.

choice books in a no-choice election year

REGULATING THE LIVES OF WOMEN

SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT
MIMI ABRAMOVITZ

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Alison Acker

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HONDURAS



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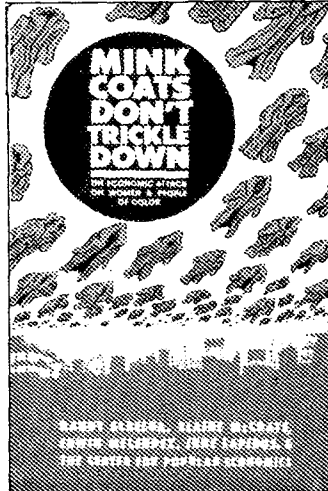
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bell hooks



AGENTS OF REPRESSION

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Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall

THE CULTURE OF TERRORISM

NOAM CHOMSKY



By Mike Tangeman

LAGUNA VERDE, MEXICO

OVER THE PROTESTS OF LOCAL RESIDENTS, environmental groups and opposition political parties, a group of technocrats that for nearly 20 years has pushed to bring Mexico into the "nuclear age" has finally won out. The efforts of the pro-nuclear group within Mexico's Federal Electricity Commission (CFE) paid off with the federal government's October 13 announcement that it had authorized the fueling of the first of two General Electric Mark II/BWR-5 nuclear reactors in the Gulf Coast state of Veracruz.

Located 280 miles east of Mexico City and 900 miles south of Houston, Texas, the plant has a tarnished history of construction setbacks and cost overruns that made the name Laguna Verde synonymous with controversy almost since planning began in 1969. From an original budget of \$28 million, by early 1987 the official price tag had grown to \$3.5 billion. Opponents claim the final price tag will be more than \$4 billion.

And that's not all they say. Since the 1986 Chernobyl disaster, Laguna Verde opponents have repeatedly pointed to several factors that make Mexico's first nuclear plant an accident waiting to happen. Anti-nuclear activists and local residents say they are most alarmed by:

- reports that private subcontractors and government officials may have been involved in corrupt practices that account for the plant's high cost and call into question the quality of construction;
- findings that General Electric Mark II/BWR-5 reactors—two of which were purchased by Mexico in 1972-73 for use at Laguna Verde—have been shown to have serious flaws in their container systems and have caused problems at several U.S. nuclear plants (see *In These Times*, July 8, 1987);
- independent geological studies that show the plant is being built on an earthquake fault zone; and,
- independent studies that have called the CFE's current emergency plan for evacuating the local population from the area in the event of a nuclear accident a "worthless document."

Nuclear technicians are currently fueling the plant with Uranium-235 and plan six months of test runs before the plant goes on-line in March. But local residents, environmentalists and opposition politicians say they will do everything in their power to shut the plant down.

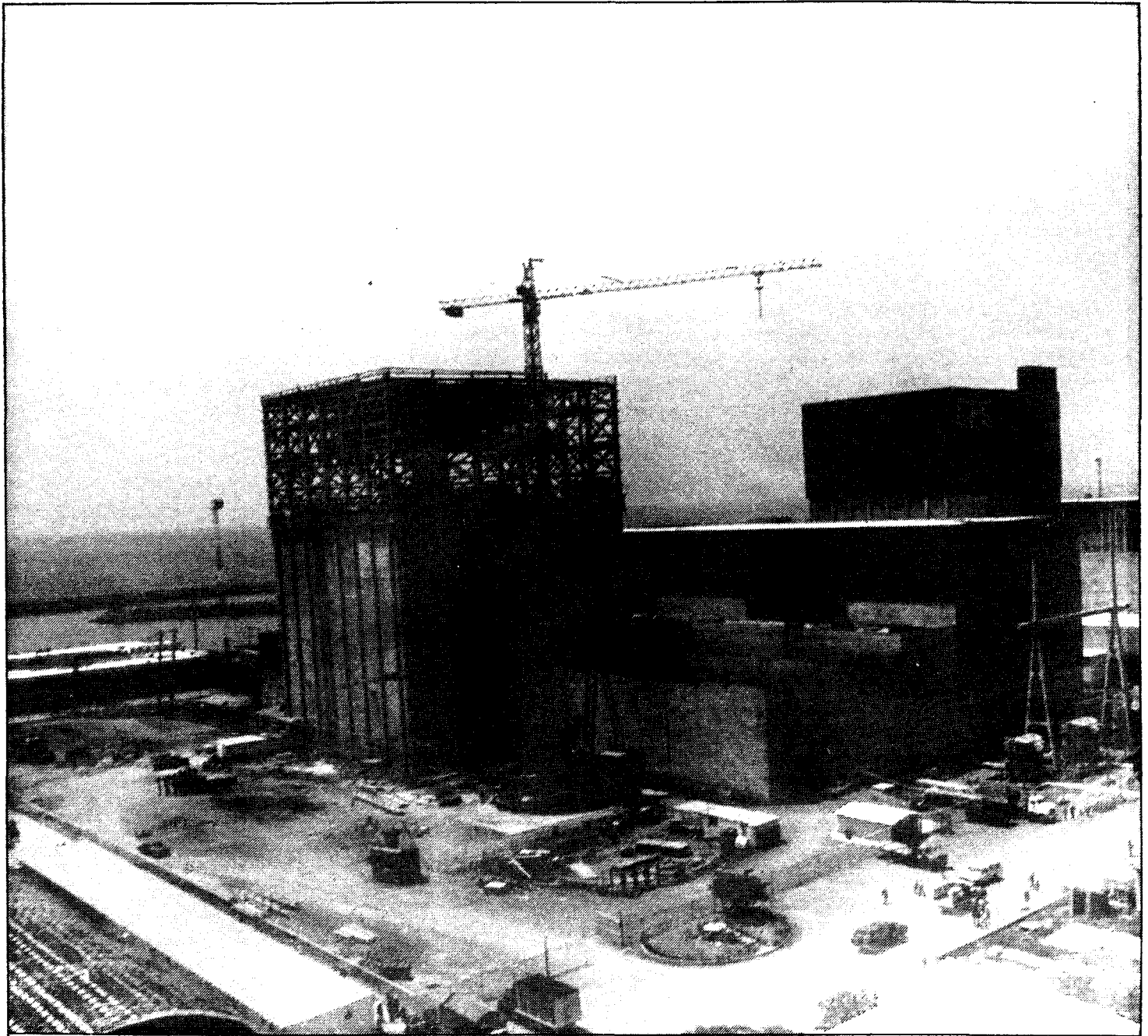
Opposition heating up: Local residents seem most upset by the government's decision and most committed to stopping Laguna Verde. Nearly 1,000 of them turned out for an October 16 meeting at the local cattle ranchers' association in Palma Sola, a town of about 9,000 situated three miles from Laguna Verde.

Many locals at that meeting, like Oscar Rivera of the town of Vega de la Torre, 33 miles north of Palma Sola, said they felt betrayed by the government, which had repeatedly promised to hold public hearings prior to fueling the plant.

"They should have been more forthcoming with information about the possible consequences before going ahead with this project," Rivera said. "They could have at least taken us into consideration."

Even before the government's announcement, mothers of school-aged children in

Will next Chernobyl be in Mexico?



The Laguna Verde nuclear plant during its construction. The facility sits on an earthquake fault zone.

Palma Sola began protesting the plant by keeping their children home from school. And on October 17 a caravan of local residents and environmental groups from the state capital of Xalapa and the port city of Veracruz staged a car caravan and two-day sit-in at the federal Chamber of Deputies in Mexico City to protest the plant start-up.

The obstacles to Laguna Verde protests are formidable, however. On-site protests are almost completely ruled out because army troops have been stationed at Laguna Verde. And even nearby protests will be difficult to execute. On October 16, for example, troop transports rumbled up and down the highway between the plant and Palma Sola in an overt show of force, effectively thwarting any protest outside the plant's gates that day.

The possible use of force to stifle protest is an idea that lies just below the surface in Palma Sola. Since residents closed down the nearby coastal highway in protest several times earlier this year, a squad of soldiers has been posted round-the-clock on the town's outskirts.

Uphill battle: A less visible obstacle is the seeming lack of coordination between local residents and national anti-nuclear groups. Virtually no national environmental group was represented at the October 16 meeting—which disappointed some of the or-

ganizers—although former opposition presidential candidate Cuauhtemoc Cardenas did make an unexpected showing to pledge his solidarity with opponents.

NUCLEAR POWER

Although organizations like the Group of 100—a movement of artists and intellectuals concerned about environmental destruction—and the national Pact of Ecology Groups did publicly oppose the plant, they were still caught off-guard when the green light was given to fuel the plant.

Jose Arias Chavez, spokesman for the Pact of Ecology Groups, said he believed the rumors circulating in the first week of October were "part of a pressure campaign by

Mexico's government has surprised environmentalists by authorizing the fueling of the country's first nuclear power plant. It could be a disastrous move.

the pro-nuclear group in the CFE to force President [Miguel] De la Madrid to make a decision before he leaves office."

Many environmentalists believed that the pro-nuclear group—now in power both in the CFE and the Secretariat of Mining and Parastate Industries (SEMIP)—was trying to get De la Madrid to follow an age-old Mexican political practice whereby the outgoing president takes the rap for controversial decisions, allowing his successor to come into office with a clean slate.

But this time environmentalists believed that De la Madrid would do nothing without President-elect Carlos Salinas de Gortari's consent, and Salinas had promised public hearings on Laguna Verde during his campaign swings through Veracruz. Thus environmentalists had not expected a decision until after Salinas assumed office on December 1.

The environmentalists were wrong, and Mexican political practice won out—some say because opponents underestimated the government and in so doing showed their weakness. The anti-nuclear forces will now have a chance to show if they can recover from this initial blow and mount an effective protest during the next six months of test runs at Laguna Verde.

Mike Tangeman is *In These Times'* correspondent in Mexico.

Does the deadlock in Yugoslavia threaten the future of the nation?

By Diana Johnstone

YUGOSLAVIA SEEMS CAUGHT IN A DEADLOCK. There is broad agreement that the system is not working. But there is radical opposition as to what to do about it.

"The exaggerated decentralization of Tito's 1974 Constitution is ruining the country," protest the Serbs, who with more than eight million of Yugoslavia's 23 million people are by far the largest of its many national groups.

The Slovenians, who number fewer than two million but who carry a disproportionate economic weight, disagree. On the contrary, they have been sounding the alarm that attempts by Serbian nationalism to centralize Yugoslavia are leading to disaster—probably an army takeover.

The mid-October Belgrade meeting of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav party was billed in advance as a decisive showdown. Slovenians toured Western Europe warning that a Serbian putsch was imminent. Mass rallies throughout Serbia—protesting against alleged abuse of Serbs by ethnic Albanians in the autonomous province of Kosovo, calling for the resignation of corrupt officials and hailing the new Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic—lent plausibility to Slovenian anxieties.

But when the meeting was over, nothing much had happened. The representatives of six republics (20 for each, regardless of population) and the two provinces Voivodina and Kosovo (15 each), plus 15 for the army, canceled each other out as usual. Milosevic was in the minority in the 165-member central committee. Since the Slovenian nightmare had not come true, it was time to wonder whether Serbian nationalism was the real problem or only a symptom.

Aggravated by unchecked inflation and a failing economy, national antagonisms have been rising to the surface, pitting the country's center against the periphery. The geographical and political center of Yugoslavia is Serbia, whose republic shares its capital city, Belgrade, with the federal government. The centrifugal forces are in both the rich northwest and the poor southeast. The richest are the Slovenians, whose prosperous little republic leans toward neighboring Austria and Italy, and the poorest are the Albanians in the southern Serbian province of Kosovo. Serbs accuse the Albanians of deliberately driving out non-Albanians in order to create a racially pure Albanian Kosovo that would eventually secede from Yugoslavia to become part of neighboring Albania.

The characteristic feature of conflicts between nationalities is that people do not speak the same language, literally and figuratively. What is happening these days in Yugoslavia sounds very different depending on whether it is recounted in Slovenian, Serbian or Albanian, separate languages echoing conflicting historical memories.

Seeds of conflict: Only the Serbs can look back to an ancient state of their own, and they are proud of their history: an independent kingdom of Serbia in the Middle Ages, a tragic defeat by Turkish invaders in the 14th century, centuries of nursing na-

tional identity under Ottoman rule. Serbia was the first of the Balkan States to revolt against the Ottoman Empire in the early years of the 19th century, followed by Greece and Bulgaria. Landlocked Serbia's efforts to expand southwest toward the Adriatic Sea across the late-falling provinces of the Ottoman Empire, notably Slavic Bosnia, were frustrated when the Austro-Hungarian Empire took them instead. This was the conflict that ignited World War I in 1914.

To justify a larger state, Serbs invented the concept of Yugoslavia, land of the Southern Slavs, which after the war absorbed not only Bosnia but also Slavic provinces that had been under the Austro-Hungarian Empire for many centuries: Croatia and Slovenia.

Some of Yugoslavia's minorities are not Slavic at all, notably the 450,000 Hungarians of the autonomous Serbian province of Voivodina, and least of all the 1.7 million Albanians in Kosovo. Their non-Slavic language, their Moslem religion and their clannish customs make the Albanians the most mysterious of Yugoslavia's ethnic groups for the others. With by far the highest birthrate in Europe, the Yugoslav Albanians have in a few decades grown to more than 80 percent of the population of Kosovo.

Tito's 1974 constitution attempted to forestall national conflicts by extreme decentralization, including annual rotation of top federal leaders and extensive autonomy for the six republics and the Serbian provinces of Voivodina and Kosovo. Serbs complain that Voivodina and Kosovo can change their

constitutions without Serbian permission, but the Serbian constitution cannot be changed without their accord. In mass demonstrations, Serbs have been demanding to exercise more control over Serbia itself and its provinces.

Serbs are unanimously persuaded that the Albanians have been mismanaging Kosovo and trying to make life unbearable there for everybody but themselves. Horror stories

EASTERN EUROPE

circulate in the Serbian press of Albanian rape and other forms of violence against Serbs. To outsiders, these stories appear the product of mass hysteria.

What is indisputable is that Albanians in Kosovo have schools and a university in their own language. This has tended to produce young intellectuals more trained in Albanian cultural nationalism than in any marketable skill. Unemployment in Kosovo runs to 40 percent, compared to 15 percent nationwide.

Over the mountains in Albania, the living standard of Albanians is much higher—paradoxically, perhaps, because the much harsher Communist regime there has combatted traditional cultural patterns that persist among Yugoslav Albanians. The rate of wage-earning among women is twice as high in Albania as among Albanians in Kosovo, where women often neither read nor write but stay at home and have lots of children, counting on the extended family to make up for the lack of job prospects. In short, Kosovo Albanians are a pocket of Third World under-

development in Europe.

The great divide: Serbs bitterly resent this Albanian population explosion in what they consider the historic cradle of the Serbian nation. Kosovo is the site of the Patriarchate of the medieval Serbian Orthodox Church, as well as of the "Field of Blackbirds," where invading Turks wiped out the Serbian nobility in a battle whose 600th anniversary will be commemorated next June. The fallen heroes of Kosovo are celebrated in Serbian epic poetry.

Since Albanians massively converted to Islam under Turkish rule, Serbs have tended to regard them as turncoats who sought privileges with the Turkish overlords, the better to move into Serbian territory and oppress the Serbs. These perceptions set the stage for highly emotional conflicts.

The Slovenians, who spent the Middle Ages in a cozy corner of the Hapsburg Empire, want no part of all this historic costume drama. Young Slovenian intellectuals are far more interested in asserting their cultural closeness to modern Western Europe.

Slovenia produces a full quarter of Yugoslavia's exports. With only 8 percent of Yugoslavia's population, Slovenians resent carrying 20 percent of the federal budget and seeing their wealth "drained" to develop the south, with nothing to show for it, whereas more investment in Slovenia would be sure to be profitable. They complain that Slovenian subsidies simply serve to maintain a "power elite" in places that manifestly do not interest them very much. The gap between Slovenia and the poor south continues to widen.

In a recent interview, a group of young Slovenian intellectuals explained the gap by the work culture, the "Protestant ethic" (although Slovenia is mostly Catholic), the older industrialization and more highly qualified working class in Slovenia, where traditionally everyone spoke several languages and traveled for work to German-speaking cities. The nostalgia for the Austro-Hungarian Empire is muted but patent.

"The Serbs consider themselves the only state-builders in Yugoslavia," Slovenians say. "But their state was medieval, whereas we and the Croats had the experience of a modern state when we were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire."

Croatia is the other rich northern republic, which lies between Slovenia and Serbia and includes the vacation paradise of the Dalmatian coast.

When Yugoslavia was created by the victorious allies after World War I, the most violent opposition came from Catholic Croatia. After the Nazis invaded Yugoslavia in 1939, the terrorist Croatian nationalist movement, the Ustashi, briefly ran a separate Croatian state, supported by fascist Italy, that systematically murdered Jews and Serbs.

The Slovenians have historically been more tranquil, rather like the Czechs.

Serbs say the Slovenians forget that they were "nobodies" in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with no recognition of their culture, no schools in their language. "They have a veto power in Yugoslavia that they certainly would never have in Western Europe," a Serb argues.

Serbian intellectuals say Slovenians are right to seek reforms, but tend to be provincial and forget history. "They speak of being part of the West as if the West were homogeneous," a Serbian intellectual says. "The West is everything from the French Revolution to Hitler. Which West do they choose?"

Peace moves: In the '80s youth in the Slovenian capital city of Ljubljana found a way





Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic has been a key figure among Serbian nationalists who hope to centralize power in Yugoslavia.

to strengthen their rapprochement with Western Europe by creating a peace movement whose representatives attended international meetings. The widely circulated Slovenian youth newspaper *Mladina* has attacked Yugoslav arms sales to Ethiopia and campaigned against construction of a seaside villa for army officers. The Slovenian peace movement has concentrated on fighting for the right to conscientious objection. The most prominent leader of the Alliance of Socialist Youth of Slovenia, Janez Jansa, has developed a sustained critique of the Yugoslav concept of "socialized defense," accused of militarizing society.

Jansa has a whole liberal program for democratic reforms and free-market economics symbolized by his proposal to change his organization's name to "Alliance of Youth Organizations and Movements," dropping the word "socialist." The reform movement wants a new constitution for Slovenia making it a "normal European" state.

The Slovenians are also hostile to Yugoslavia's traditional "non-alignment" policy. "We are fed up with ideological wars," says a statement of the Slovenian youth organization. "We condemn Yugoslav foreign policy that has isolated us from our cultural, historical, economic and political environment." The Slovenians want "integration with Europe."

As in other parts of Yugoslavia, notably Serbia, intellectuals who question the system risk getting into trouble. Several young intellectuals, including Janez Jansa, were arrested last May for passing military documents to *Mladina*.

Jansa's friends organized a defense committee that quickly attracted 80,000 members—a huge number out of a population of only 1.8 million, showing the broad base of

the reform movement in Slovenia.

Since politics makes strange bedfellows, the prosperous Slovenians are in de facto alliance with the poverty-stricken Albanians of Kosovo—a place few care even to visit. The key is a common enemy, the Serbs.

Making waves: Just as the Serbs suspect a deliberate separatist plot lurking behind the Albanian birthrate in Kosovo, Slovenians accuse the Serbs of inventing the Kosovo problem as a pretext to impose centralized Serbian rule on all of Yugoslavia.

The irony is that reform intellectuals in both Serbia and Slovenia denounce the ruling "politocracy" as incompetent and corrupt. But the Slovenian strategy is to use decentralization to float their own tight little ship westward. The Serbian strategy is to try to find a strong captain and crew to trim the

Aggravated by unchecked inflation and a failing economy, national antagonisms have been rising to the surface.

Yugoslav ship of state they see springing multiple leaks on all sides.

Thus at the central committee meeting the Slovenians lined up against the Serbs with defenders of the status quo, starting with the current rotating party leader, Stipe Suvar, a Croat considered a "neo-Stalinist" conservative. Suvar's speech laid into Serbian intellectuals who have been debunking Tito—a Croat whom Serbs blame for the "anti-Serbian" constitution.

Serbian historian Miodrag Milic, a critical

Marxist who recently spent 18 months in jail for attacking the official version of socialism, complained to the West German daily *Tageszeitung* that "Yugoslavia has been run for decades by a Croatian-Slovenian coalition against the 'Balkan south,' left economically and culturally underdeveloped." This is what has fanned national antagonisms, he said. "The people are hungry. In Kosovo, chaos reigns. Yugoslavia is ready to become another Poland."

Milic sees the nationalist demonstrations of Serbs as a prelude to a "general strike" on social issues.

Another critical Serbian intellectual, Svetozar Stojanovic, takes a calmer view. He thinks the Western media have over-dramatized the situation. Tito kept the lid on conflicts. Now people have to get used to national questions being raised openly, not only by the small-minority peoples, but also by the Serbs, who for a long time kept quiet about their own national interest.

It is fine for Albanians to enjoy cultural autonomy, says Stojanovic, "but the official ideology created illusions among Albanians that national minorities have some recognized international right to separate and join the mother state. This is not possible."

The federal structure was based on the illusion that all federal institutions must operate on consensus, a "consensual utopia," Stojanovic calls it, where everyone can veto everything. "We critical intellectuals want an amendment, or rather a clause in a new constitution, listing the vital issues subject to veto. Other issues should be able to be decided by the majority."

Stojanovic is counting on next year's radical economic reform to change things. It will mean a unified Yugoslav market of goods, capital and labor. It will break up fortresses

of privilege and force people to move around. This will change problems and perceptions.

Lessons to be learned: Stojanovic sees parallels with Mikhail Gorbachev's problems. On the national problem, he says, the Soviet Union has a lot to learn from Yugoslavia positively and negatively. The USSR is overcentralized. It can learn from Yugoslav decentralization. But it can also learn from Yugoslavia not to take decentralization too far.

"If, as in Yugoslavia in the '70s, you put the emphasis on a federal structure based on national identities, you are bound to be in trouble, because demography changes all the time," he observes. Population shifts due to varying birthrates or immigration will constantly destabilize a political system based on different ethnic or national identities.

"The alternative is to develop citizens' rights and representation alongside national representation, to balance the national principle with the citizens' principle," he concludes.

National difference has often been the only legitimate pluralism in the socialist states. Latent conflicts tend to be channeled into national antagonisms, which may be the first to explode. The only remedy would be a political pluralism that can transcend national lines. Multinational socialist states may have to cultivate political pluralism to hold themselves together.

Meanwhile, Stojanovic does not believe Yugoslavia will be destroyed by its time of troubles. "Although there are troubles, for a state to disintegrate in Europe, you need a different international situation," he says. "Neither bloc today has any interest in seeing Yugoslavia disintegrate." □

Duke's ALAMO

By Geoffrey Rips

AUSTIN, TEXAS

THERE ARE JUST THREE THINGS WRONG WITH the Dukakis campaign in Texas: its style, substance and strategy. The 10 points by which he supposedly trailed in the state going into the last two weeks of the campaign were not insurmountable. But given the candidate and the months his organization wasted while conducting purges of the state's Democratic Party stalwarts and ducking continuous Republican salvos, it is doubtful that even all Lloyd Bentsen's horses and all his men can rescue this campaign.

And they should have been way ahead. You cannot talk about prosperity today in Texas. You cannot ask if Texans are better off than they were four or eight years ago and expect a positive answer. Since 1980 one million Texans have fallen out of the middle class to below the poverty line. Taken together, they comprise a city the size of Dallas.

Eight hundred thousand Texans are reported to miss at least one meal a month due to lack of income. Food banks from the rich agricultural regions of the Texas Panhandle to the Rio Grande are distributing two to 10 times as much food as they did three years ago and meeting less than half the reported demand. At 7 percent, the state's official unemployment rate is the second highest of the 11 largest states and 33 percent above the national average.

One hundred and forty Texas banks have closed since 1986, with 70 expected to close this year. The State Banking Commission reports that the state's banks lost more than one-quarter of their assets in the past year and slightly less than one-quarter of their total deposits. Home foreclosures are at record levels. Even if the rest of the country is cautiously comfortable on election day, in Texas this should be a Democrat's year.

His style: Michael Dukakis' primary campaign in Texas was characterized as much by what it was not as by what it was. It was not as willing to ape the Republicans as Al Gore did in his primary campaign. It was not as closely identified with narrowly defined issues—or as poor—as Richard Gephardt's campaign. It did not carry a loser's sign around its neck the way Paul Simon's and Bruce Babbitt's campaigns did. And, above all, it was not like Jesse Jackson's campaign.

What Texas Democrats thought they saw in Michael Dukakis was the embodiment of a state of being with which Texas, strangely enough, could identify. Both Massachusetts and Texas have been at varying times producers of enormous wealth and national political leadership. Energy prices, however, dictated that when the fortunes of one state were up, the fortunes of the other had to be down. Dukakis proposed to temper this love-hate relationship with a Texas-to-Boston natural gas pipeline, benefiting the economies of both states.

Texas Democrats also thought they recognized a Texas brand of politics in Dukakis' painless pledges of economic development and, most important, in the influx of money to the Dukakis primary operation. It was more money than a Democratic presidential campaign in the state had seen since the days when big-oil money supported Lyndon Johnson. Those were the days when most Texas Republicans were still Democrats.

Their last vestige is Bentsen's political machine. Texas Democrats thought they finally had a winner.

What they had was a set of conditions that could become a winner if played right. In the primary, this set of conditions had conceded the black vote to Jackson, but it had taken the lion's share of the Mexican-American vote, with the Spanish-speaking Dukakis pledging jobs, education and economic development in the Rio Grande Valley. His campaign had attracted liberals with talk of jobs and justice in Central America. It had garnered a good portion of labor's support. And it had even managed to pull in Tory Democrats with its talk of the high-technology prosperity of Massachusetts, with its evident financial backing, and with the fact that Michael Dukakis was not Jesse Jackson.

The question for the Democrats was, once this set of conditions managed to satisfy enough constituent groups to secure the nomination, could it define itself in such a

way as to appeal to the general electorate?

Even before the convention, however, there had been troubling signs that Dukakis might not be able to manipulate the political symbols Texas voters find crucial to their identification with candidates. Dukakis talked about economic development and growth, but he looked like austerity—tight-lipped, closefisted. Texas has had four years of austerity. Bush at least looked like he knew how to live.

In Texas politics there are no clear demarcations between substance and style. They are closely linked. This past summer, for

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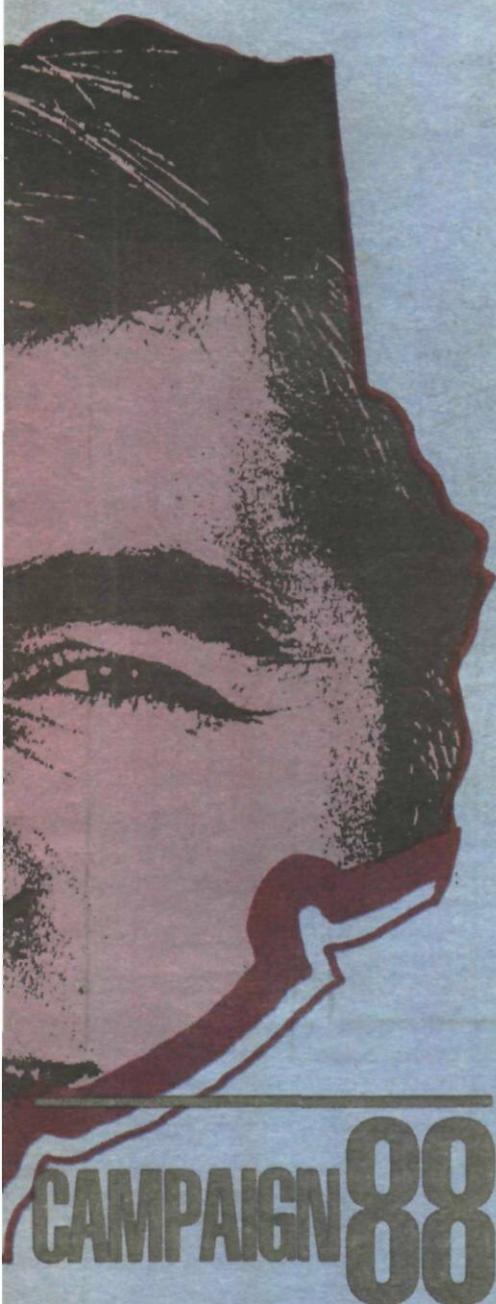
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The Democrats' last stand in Texas



CAMPAIGN 88

federal gun control. If this be liberalism, then Bush was right—it was a character flaw.

His substance: Texas Democrats found themselves with a candidate only vaguely identified in the public mind with economic issues—defense cuts, job training, economic development, mandatory health insurance—but specifically defined in terms of social issues by the Republicans.

That is a losing agenda for any Democratic candidate in Texas. From Gov. Jimmy Allred in the '30s to former U.S. Sen. Ralph Yarborough to Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower, Texas has produced progressive officeholders. They have run successful campaigns because they have been able to invoke the economic populist traditions that run through the state. Most Texas voters did not agree with Yarborough's support of civil rights legislation and opposition to the Vietnam War, but he was elected and re-elected in the '50s and '60s by sounding populist themes, promising to "put the jam on the lower shelves where the little people can get it." In 1970, however, Bentsen managed to paint Yarborough as a liberal out of step with his constituency, defeating him soundly in the primary.

In the same way, Hightower and some of his contemporaries have been able to shed the liberal baggage that doomed earlier progressive efforts by concentrating on a populist economic message that strikes home in the middle-class, working-class and lower-income communities of rural and urban Texas. "People understood," Hightower tells his audiences, "that the central issue is that too few people control all the money and the power, and they're using that money and power to gain more for themselves and to work against our interests."

Dukakis has preached good jobs at good wages, decent and affordable housing, decent and affordable health care, decent and affordable education, but he has struck few responsive chords. He has not stirred the electorate to identify with him in a struggle of "them vs. us." For the underdog to win in Texas—and any Democratic presidential candidate has to be considered an underdog in the state—Dukakis cannot be the decent and affordable, button-down presidential candidate he has become. He has to take on the "big boys" surrounding Bush, fomenting partisan identification and loyalty on a broad scale.

His strategy: You can have a lackluster candidate and still make a race of it in Texas if you have the organization that can

mobilize voters. Bentsen's landslide Senate campaigns have proven it can be done. Thus the Dukakis campaign has placed dozens of paid workers around the state, but it has alienated the very party activists it must count on in order to win. Stories are rampant about the campaign's efforts to run off local leadership only to supplant it with non-Spanish-speaking, recent college graduates in the Rio Grande Valley or with Yankee operatives in west Texas farm country. Community organizations have been ignored. Black and Hispanic constituents have been ostracized. And this is not simply a question of the Harvard-Yard arrogance that Bush has been so quick to capitalize on. It is the result of a well-defined campaign strategy that, in Texas at least, spells certain defeat.

From the day Dukakis secured the Democratic nomination, his operatives in the state have adopted what they call a "Bubba" strategy, designed to reclaim the presidential vote of the traditional Democrats who wandered off into the Reagan camp in previous elections. They are generally characterized as white and male with rural roots. The Dukakis strategy to recapture this vote was to move as far away from Jesse Jackson as he could while vaguely positioning himself as a competent, productive manager of the nation's interests. The Bentsen nomination was geared, in part, to attract these Reagan Democrats. But polls indicate that with Bentsen on the ballot twice—for vice president and for senator—many voters will be happy to vote for him once to keep him in the Senate.

The Bubba strategy has proven seriously flawed on two counts. First, although the Reagan Democrat vote is crucial, it cannot be won by a candidate who won the primary as "none of the above" and who spent the first months of the general election season promoting differences in competence and integrity while offering little that sounded like real change in policy. As Hightower says, Reagan Democrats, like most voters, "are not ideological. They are not meek centrists cowering in the middle of the ideological spectrum. The great masses of our electorate are anti-establishment mavericks. You won't find them on a scale of left-to-right. You're going to find them on a scale of disgruntled-to-depressed."

The Reagan Democrats will not be moved to vote for Dukakis simply because he is palatable, simply because local and state officeholders have appeared with Dukakis rather than distancing themselves from him as they did with Mondale. The Reagan Democrats will be moved to vote for Dukakis only

if he addresses their needs and aspirations. Though there have been recent flashes of his understanding of that need, his appearances have generally been marked by the cerebral rather than the visceral. At a rally of farmers organized by Hightower, Dukakis attacked former Carter National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, who two days earlier had endorsed Bush. Clearly, Dukakis' point—that Brzezinski had been responsible for the 1980 grain embargo—was lost on the farmers.

Second, the Reagan Democrat strategy alienated black and brown voters in the state. Dukakis can only win Texas if blacks and Hispanics turn out in record numbers. With labor, they form the base of the Democratic constituency and the keys to all Democratic victories in the last 15 years. Yet these constituencies have been alternately ignored or maltreated by the Dukakis operation in the state.

Dukakis' only hope for winning in Texas is not to court the 50 percent of the electorate that is already fairly well entrenched, but to motivate large portions of that alienated 50 percent that now finds no reason to vote. While Hispanic voter registration in the state has been on a continuous climb since 1976, Hispanic voter turnout has not kept pace. Hispanic voter registration increased by 80 percent from 1976 to 1984, but Hispanic turnout increased by only 51 percent over that same period. Hispanic voter turnout in Texas was 57 percent of registered Hispanics in 1976, but 48 percent of registered Hispanics in 1984.

The Southwest Voter Research Institute reports that there are nearly 1.2 million Hispanics registered to vote in Texas. That is 200,000 more people than the highest projection for Reagan Democrats in the state. Polls indicate that the Hispanic vote may be as much as 85 percent Democratic. The Democrats' goal, then, should be to increase Hispanic voter turnout dramatically. A turnout of 600,000 Hispanic voters would account for 10 percent of the entire electorate and could have a decided impact.

Similarly, the Joint Center for Political Studies reports that two-thirds of voting-age blacks in Texas are registered to vote, totaling 695,000 potential voters. If black and Hispanic voters in Texas turn out at the same rate as white voters, the Center projects that the Democratic ticket can win in Texas with just 39 percent of the white vote.

With time running out, the votes may be there, but is Dukakis?

Geoffrey Rips is a former editor of *The Texas Observer*.

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

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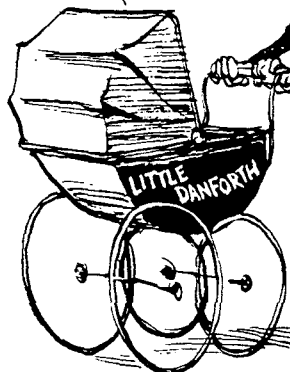
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..ANYWAY,
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WILL YOU
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DEFICIT

Where, oh where, have all the real issues gone?

Stung, not to say dazed, by the Bush campaign's persistent attacks on his patriotism and his alleged softness on crime and defense, Michael Dukakis cried foul last week. The Democrat said George Bush "knows he can't win an election where real issues are discussed," which is why the Republican has been indulging in "distortions, lies and misrepresentations." This may well be true, but how will we ever know? As we enter the last week of the 1988 presidential campaign, Dukakis has yet to challenge Bush seriously on any issue. Instead, as political scientist Thomas Ferguson predicted two months ago, all we have received is a bombardment of promises of "an unspecified number of 'good jobs' at undefined levels of 'good wages,' and enough talk of 'strength' and 'competence' to repulse even Dale Carnegie."

And as a result, a majority of those eligible to vote—especially working people and the poor—will conclude that doing so this year is a waste of time. We can now expect the lowest turnout for a presidential election since 1924, when only 43 percent of eligible voters bothered to vote.

In July this election was Michael Dukakis' to lose. And he is losing it because of his failure to do what he keeps saying he needs to do—address the issues. In part this failure can be attributed to Bush's aggressive campaign of smears about the Pledge of Allegiance and prisoner furloughs that has thrown the Dukakis' campaign planners off balance. But the real problem goes much deeper. It rests in the very nature of the Dukakis campaign strategy, which is to try to win back the Reagan Democrats of 1984, rather than attempt to enlarge the electorate to include the millions of Americans who normally don't vote.

To beat Bush, Dukakis has accepted the basic premises of the Reagan years. Early on he rejected Jesse Jackson's attempt to attract new voters and to motivate occasional voters in the primaries by advocating social priorities clearly different from Reagan's. Rejecting a campaign that presented the public with a set of principles—"ideology," in the Dukakis lexicon—different from those that have dominated American public life during the Reagan years, Dukakis has simply insisted that he can do the job with greater "competence."

Despite earlier liberal stands on many issues, Dukakis had changed his positions so much by the July convention that he entered the campaign against Bush differing but little from the Republican in his basic approach to the major problems facing our nation. Where earlier he had called for substantial cuts in military spending, he adopted Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci's position of holding military expenditures steady in real terms over the next few years. And aligning himself with establishment figures from Cyrus Vance to Henry Kissinger, he has avoided commitments to fast-track arms control negotiations with Mikhail Gorbachov.

Similarly, while indulging in vague criticisms of administration policy in Central America, Dukakis backed off from his earlier opposition to aid for the Nicaraguan contras. And in regard to the Mideast, he has taken a hard-line position, to the right of the administration, with calls for moving the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and with unequivocal opposition to negotiations with the PLO.

On domestic policy, the only area in which Dukakis has consistently and strongly differed with Bush has been health care. Here he calls for a national version of a Massachusetts plan. And he promises health insurance to "every American working family"—a position that has solid support from his major funders in the insurance and high-tech industries.

In short, even though Bush probably could not win an election in which real issues were discussed—and his positions on them seriously challenged—Dukakis remains helpless. He has positioned himself in a way that leaves few real issues. In an ironic twist of fate, Bush has needed to run a despicable campaign of image-bashing, and Dukakis has needed Bush's kind of campaign to provide him with something he can differ on. Once he gets beyond the "it's unfair and insulting" stage, Dukakis has nothing to say.

This was brought home sharply last week, when Ted Koppel provided Dukakis with 90 minutes of free airtime to put forward his views on the whole range of issues in the campaign. The result was truly pathetic. Dukakis did not enunciate a single position forcefully. He made it plain that, incompetent as he was showing himself to be, he still had only competence to sell. When Koppel threw him a softball by asking Dukakis how he would define the nasty "L-word" with which Bush has been smearing him, the Duke could only mumble that in many ways he was more conservative than Reagan. Of course, we know it isn't true. So does Bush. So do the American people. But they don't like a dissembler.

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INTERNATIONAL

LETTERS

Solidarity

DISCUSSION OF ISSUES SURROUNDING THE ISRAELI-Arab-Palestinian conflicts are tainted with irrational emotional baggage and polemical sloganeering. *In These Times* continues to remain a shining example that this situation can be overcome relatively easily.

The articles by Eileen Flanagan on the Palestinian middle class and by Stephen Zunes on the history of U.S. abuse of Israeli dependency (*ITT*, Sept. 14) were good examples of straightforward honest journalism that can provide the basis for intelligent consideration of how best to respond to changing conditions in Israel and the Occupied Territories.

Despite the rhetoric and the emotionalism attached to these issues, the central questions remain the same, as is clearly expressed in the reporting in *In These Times*. For progressive and socialist American Jews, the basic question is: how do we promote democratic and socialist values within the American Jewish and Israeli Jewish communities while we work for a better world for all? For progressive and socialist Americans, the basic question is: how do we promote democratic and socialist values and policies in the U.S. and throughout the world while we do grass-roots organizing in our various communities?

Our solidarity with the peoples of Palestine and Israel compels us to support those working individually and collectively for peace and justice and to oppose the work of those seeking to dominate, oppress, exploit or conquer others. We should not be surprised therefore to discover that one cannot be pro-Israeli without being pro-Palestinian or pro-Palestinian without being pro-Israeli.

Benjamin Mordecai Ben-Baruch
Co-chair, Middle East Committee of Ann Arbor
New Jewish Agenda, and Co-chair, Southeast
Michigan Political Committee of Americans
for Progressive Israel

Damn!

DEBORAH DAVIS ("PRISONS FOR PROFIT," *ITT*, AUG. 17) has a lot to learn about what motivates government officials and the private sector. Her faith in the former is sorely misplaced, and her aversion to the latter is just plain wrong.

Davis implies that government officials and private-sector managers face different incentives: "public spiritedness" and "profit," respectively. But several respected economists—most notably James Buchanan, winner of the 1986 Nobel prize—disagree. Their "public choice" theory suggests that government officials act *not* out of "public spiritedness," but rather on incentives to expand their budgets, their levels of responsibility and their managerial prestige.

Government officials are, in a sense, influenced by a "profit motive" similar to that which influences private-sector managers—but different in one very important respect. Private-sector managers profit when they perform well. Public officials profit when they fail to perform.

In the marketplace, for example, a businessman who sells a low-quality product loses customers. A private-prison manager who mistreats prisoners or tolerates escapes loses his government contract. But a Department of Corrections official who tolerates double- and triple-celling, lockdowns and

prison riots is rewarded with a bigger budget, additional facilities and more employees.

Injecting the private sector's profit motive into corrections will do more to ensure accountability and high-quality corrections services than any "political reform." Profit is not a four-letter word.

Diane Carol Bast
Publications Director
The Heartland Institute

Milking the calf

AT LAST, AN ARTICLE ON ABORTION THAT EXAMINES the facts instead of spouting a lot of ideology (*ITT*, Oct. 12). However, Denise Rinaldo left out that Ronald Reagan was the most pro-abortion governor California ever had.

It's clear to me that for the far right abortion is a "golden calf," and they plan to milk the issue as long as possible rather than trying to win anything. Therefore there is little chance George Bush's first choice for the Supreme Court will reverse *Roe vs. Wade*.

Perhaps if the fundamentalists scream "betrayal" loud enough, the second or third nominees might vote against it. But some pro-life jurists already on the bench may suddenly switch to pro-choice in order to protect the conservative mandate.

Richard Kanegis
Philadelphia

Let 'em rip

YOUR EXPOSÉ ON LIBERTARIANS (*ITT*, SEPT. 14) was smuggled to this Libertarian by a mutual friend. Its gossip on internal factions left little room for basic issues.

Presumably we all share your masthead's first desire: "liberty and justice for all." Libertarians would interpret its next statement in favor of the individual and diversity: "Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions."

Any battles for control of policy will be dominated by those who have economic clout. Even in a democracy, big dollars will seduce officials, politicians—and voters. The evidence surrounds us.

Governments of men are far more likely to be used by financial giants than to discipline them. The alternative is government of laws. Judicial definitions of rights and wrongs will evolve in any society where momentary economic power cannot be leveraged. Judicial decisions apply to the goose and the gander—to the weak and the strong.

Less legislative and administrative policy and power are needed to tolerate the birth and testing of new ideas in every field—

goods, services, arts, education—and allow alternatives a brief moment in the "marketplace" before being replaced by better ones.

The benefits of diversity in "public" services such as food, clothing and shelter can extend to education, highway safety, basic research and, most important, to security "services"—judicial, police and military—which define and protect "liberty and justice for all."

Lasting protection for the powerless, which includes most new and better ideas, will evolve in the absence of stifling public decisions and dangerous monopolies of power. Benefits of the liberty that follows will include more and better jobs, widespread abundance and choice, genuine welfare—and peace.

Jerry Van Sickle
Boulder, Colo.

No bang

I AM GLAD TO SEE THAT THERE IS A GROWING awareness of the increasing environmental and ecological disaster in our world. I have only recently come to see it in all its alarming proportions myself.

We are destroying the land, air and waters on which we depend for life. The signposts down the road are all around us: Three Mile Island, Chernobyl, the greenhouse effect, acid rain, the rip in the ozone layer. There are 1,200 acknowledged toxic waste dumps here, and only 40 are being worked on to get them cleaned up. An environmental consultant told me that just about every large factory or production site in our country has its own waste-disposal dump, which brings the total to well over 100,000. Here is an image of our factory system: shiny new products coming out the front door, toxic waste dumped out the rear end!

Both the U.S. and Italy have had their wandering garbage barges looking for a place to dispose of their reeking contents. Millions of tons of chemical fertilizers and pesticides are spread on our farmlands; what doesn't end up in our food drains off the land into our rivers, lakes and seas.

All this is pretty well known. There is a Green Party in West Germany. The communist youth movement in Italy has five major campaigns, one of which is protection of the environment. Countless thousands of groups are working on environmental issues here. Gorbachov has insisted that the nuclear threat and "other human concerns" take precedence over traditional ideological concepts. And in the U.S. the presidential contenders trade barbs on the environment—Bush declaiming Boston Harbor in Dukakisland, and Dukakis charging Bush for his off-shore drilling stance.

I used to worry that the world would

come to an end in the big bang of a nuclear holocaust. Assuming we defeat that danger, it may now end in a whimper. People can visualize the dramatic image of a sudden explosive end. It is harder to see the slower—but just as certain—death of our future in the systematic destruction of the Earth's ecostructure.

Two recent occurrences disclosed the shape of that possible future. A storm in Bangladesh inundated practically the entire country. Thirty-five million homes were underwater. The reason, experts say, is that the mountains and hillsides in this country in the foothills of the Himalayas have been denuded of trees, which allows the waters from the rains to rush down to the valleys where the people live with the terrible consequences we observe. The second is the discovery of a rip in the ozone layer. The culprit is "Freon," according to the experts. Freon is the trade name of the chemical chlorofluorocarbon (CFC), which is the ingredient that makes refrigerators work. It is also used in car airconditioners, as the repellent in spray cans and in the foaming of plastics, among other things.

The damage we are doing right now will not be known for another 15 years. It is so bad that there already are international agreements to limit the use of CFC. The corporation that manufactures it says it will take an additional 15 years to develop a substitute for Freon (which, of course, is not true, but profits come first!). What, then, will be left of our protective ozone layer?

No piecemeal reforms are going to solve our ecological problems—they will at best postpone them. While we tinker here and there with band-aids consider the fact that the industrialized countries represent only one-third of the Earth's people. The rest of the world is trying to move ahead using us as a model of industrialization. The Earth can't take what we are doing to it now—even less can it afford the whole world rushing headlong down that path. The entire trajectory of the industrial revolution, technology, under capitalism is the basis of the evil.

What can we do? Environmentalists can tinker. Ecologists can give us scientific analyses. But as long as we have capitalism and the profit motive as the mainspring and ruler of society, profit will overrule ecology. On the contrary, a planned solution is the only solution. We have reached a point in history where no future is possible without it. Ultimately we need a radically altered economy and social life in ecologically sound communities.

Don Amter
New York

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



Airline deregulation hurts consumers

By Paul J. Baicich

THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PASSAGE of the Airline Deregulation Act went by in October with barely a notice. When lawmakers passed the act 10 years ago they promised more competition with new airlines, better-quality service, lower fares, no decline of service to small communities and no erosion of safety. Each promise was false. Ten years ago the public was sold a bill of goods by deregulatory true believers in the Carter administration. The chief culprit was Alfred Kahn, appointed by Carter to head the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), but he had plenty of help from liberals like Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and others who should have known better. We have, over the past 10 years, paid the price for the politics of foolishness.

Even if one were to accept the dubious claim that more competition and a choice in air carriers is a good thing per se, the fact remains that today there is less competition than 10 years ago. In 1978 there were 19 major carriers in the U.S.; now there are eight. As with the rest of the Reagan revolution's impact on industry, this airline-merger trend has consolidated wealth and power. With 22 airline mergers in the past two years we are now approaching an oligopoly in the industry. The image of the new upstart carriers prodding the industry with lower fares and creative entrepreneur-

ship is almost laughable today. The new carriers that burst on the scene after deregulation never captured more than 5 percent of the business, and only one significant new carrier survives to this day—Midway Airlines. Today a few big airlines dominate the nation's major airports and the country's important routes. Last year it was announced that at 15 of the nation's top airports, either half the business was already controlled by one airline, or two airlines shared more than 70 percent of that business. Of course, as with any developing oligopoly, competition still exists, but the competition now is between giants over some lucrative routes and the "proper packaging" of the product.

The airlines' passenger service has declined sharply—whether one considers delays, cancellations, cleanliness or meals. As Paul Dempsey, a transportation law professor at the University of Denver, explains, "Flying has become a miserable experience...the planes are filthy, delayed, canceled and overbooked; our luggage disappears and the food is processed cardboard." When the Airline Deregulation Act was passed no mention was made of consumer protection. As an afterthought, with the demise of the CAB, consumer protection responsibilities were handed over to an ill-prepared Department of Transportation. Since then, the poorly served customer has been abused

even more. Complaints go unanswered and passengers feel powerless. Moreover, without proper government oversight, not only can airlines boost fares, but they can also set extremely narrow conditions for refunds on many fares.

Pricing is highly restrictive with airfares steadily climbing. Unlike the halcyon days of early deregulation and the scramble for passenger dollars, cheap fares today are hard to find. Discounts are available to the individual passenger if that passenger is willing to tailor his or her travel around the airlines' requirements. Otherwise, as a study pointed out this year, the passenger will have to pay 10 percent to 12 percent

Only a handful of giant airlines have gained from the changes.

more in 1988 than in 1987. Small communities, in the meantime, have had air service reduced or pay considerably more for poorer service. Halfway through our experience of airline deregulation—late 1983—128 locations had lost air carrier service altogether. An elimination or reduction in service has been noticeable not only in rural and mountainous areas, but also in locations suffering from capital flight.

Indeed, no-holds-barred, free-enterprise air service helped accelerate the deindustrialization of many American communities during the past 10 years. Rust-bowl towns become even less attractive when their air service is cut. This contributes to the self-fulfilling prophecy of the old industrial town without attractive features. Those small communities that are retaining air service often pay a high price. Under a regulated system the more costly long-distance flights helped pay for cheaper shorter-distance flights. Today the high-density big-city routes are subsidized by passengers flying to small towns.

And the dangers increase: Meanwhile the margin of air safety has declined. Safety has become a cost-accountable item for the airlines, and the government's ability to monitor safety has not been enhanced during deregulation. From 2,000 Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) inspectors at the onset of deregulation in 1979, the FAA staff was cut to about 1,300 in 1984; and when the FAA investigated Eastern and Continental planes this spring, it was hard-pressed to find enough qualified inspectors to do the job. As author and former Braniff pilot John J. Nance explained, "In reality, the FAA is too undermanned and ill-equipped to have any idea what actually goes on at the heart of the average airline. In effect no one is watching." Nance adds that, "in terms of the vital influence of management, the airlines are on the honor system." Sadly, in 10 years we have witnessed the decontrol of safety.

In addition to these broken promises, there has been an added consequence in the industry—union-bashing. A long list of air carriers have broken unions or wrested large concessions from their workers. Pan Am, TWA, Alaska Airlines, Eastern, American Airlines and even foreign carriers operating in the U.S.

have joined the trend. No airline workers—agents, flight attendants, pilots, mechanics and related ground workers—have been immune. The dramatic example of Frank Lorenzo's Continental Airlines occurred in 1983, when the bankruptcy laws were used to wipe out virtually all the unions at that carrier. But we know that this arrogant anti-union trend started before 1983. It occurred right in front of the noses of airline management at airports throughout the country—the response to the PATCO strike of 1981.

In combination with the Reagan-fostered union-busting atmosphere, deregulation has broken the once-sacred shield of "industry-standard" contracts that airline unions used to rely on. A few years ago, Michael Derchin, former director of market planning for American Airlines, bluntly stated that airline deregulation has "been the most anti-labor legislation ever passed by Congress." He was not far off the mark. When Congress passed the Airline Deregulation Act a decade ago, it promised maintenance of Labor Protective Provisions (LPPs) to respect job and seniority rights and to pay displacement allowances to employees whose jobs were eliminated due to deregulation. However, these LPPs were not made mandatory and have never been enforced. In September, when friendly members of the House tried to include LPPs in a Department of Transportation appropriations bill, they were thwarted by Reagan's threat to veto the whole package. Instead the public is given more myths about highly paid airline workers and the advantages of deregulation.

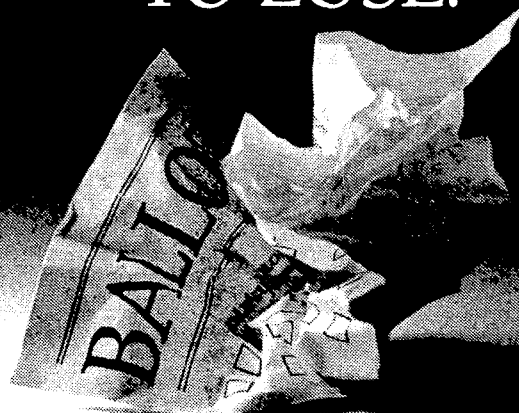
The deregulation mythology has produced similar anti-consumer and anti-labor results in trucking, communications and banking as it has in airlines. This is becoming clearer as more workers, communities and passengers are being taken for a ride. For the past few years there has been a slow process of renewed interest in re-regulation—and for the re-establishment of the CAB. But as yet there is not widespread support.

The need for counteraction: A barrier to resolving this problem is that unions, small communities and abused passengers have not found ways to unite in debunking the myths, and fighting a deregulatory monster that victimizes them all. In a moment of insight in the early '80s when the carriers were still slugging it out for turf, Thomas Plaskett, then with American Airlines and now head of Pan Am, said, "Deregulation has encouraged the concentration of services on major dense routes, and this has led to excessive, destructive competition and overcapacity. We find it difficult to reconcile such destructive competition with the overall public interest."

Today we know that the "destructive competition" then was a prelude to consolidation. But the key phrase here is "public interest." Though Plaskett would certainly not draw the conclusion that the "public interest" means that the airline industry should be treated like a public utility, that is the direction that those abused by deregulation must inevitably go. And, of course, the issue of public interest and public utility begs the question. Exactly how much of a "public" public utility—with elements of social/public ownership—can be involved? It is a question that communities, passengers and workers will have to consider.

Paul J. Baicich is an active member of the International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers (IAM) in the airline industry.

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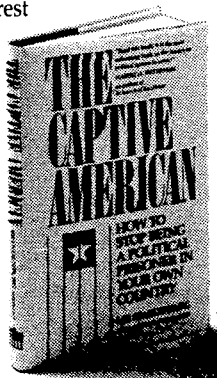
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By John Atlas, Peter Dreier
& Tom Gallagher

A long view forward for the American left

WHAT SHOULD THE LEFT AND JESSE JACKSON'S forces do now and after the 1988 election? First, they should take part in an all-out effort for Michael Dukakis, simply because any Democrat in the White House will provide more political space for reform.

The harder question is: can a fragmented left unite after the November election to pressure a Dukakis or oppose a Bush presidency with a progressive vision for America?

The Reagan years were among the most difficult of the century for progressive organizations. Even symbolic high points of resistance such as the 1981 nuclear freeze march or the 1982 Labor Day solidarity rally—were unable to build any lasting momentum. On domestic and foreign policy issues, the Reaganites defined the agenda and for the most part won the legislative battles.

In the last two years the tide has started to shift. Administration scandals played their part, as have the economic realities that have hurt living standards among both the middle class and the poor—epitomized by the national scandal of homelessness. But the nation is drifting along with no moral compass and no sense of national purpose as a selfish decade comes to an end.

Public opinion polls show that support for most basic "liberal" programs has remained constant during the decade. The late '80s have already witnessed increased public support for federal government intervention to solve basic problems of economic injustice—poverty, homelessness, hunger and unemployment. The success of the Democrats in regaining control of the Senate in 1986 was an indicator of this new mood, but most telling was the surprisingly broad support for Jesse Jackson's campaign for the presidential nomination.

Although we shouldn't exaggerate Jackson's support, the strength of his campaign was quite remarkable. The campaign mobilized many voters who would otherwise have remained uninvolved. Equally important, Jackson did something that no politician has done since the New Deal: he made the nation pay attention to progressive issues—corporate power and economic injustice, drug abuse and its causes, a humane foreign policy, jobs, health care, affordable housing. Whether these new directions can be maintained beyond the November 1988 presidential election is the major question for the democratic left.

The big question: Would a Dukakis administration make any difference?

In his three terms as governor of Massachusetts, Dukakis has been an effective liberal reformer with a strong managerial bent. Liberal groups have generally found Dukakis sympathetic to their causes and willing to devote state resources to solve social and economic problems of poor and working-class people, but often too willing to compromise—on regulation and taxes—for the sake of political consensus.

On foreign policy, he was an early opponent of contra aid and a strong advocate of removing state investments from corporations doing business with South Africa. A board member of Jobs With Peace, Dukakis'

campaign statements suggest that he does not share the Cold War mentality of some fellow Democrats and that he favors human rights over interventionism.

Whatever we know about Dukakis' experiences as governor, his campaign positions and his personality, the key forces shaping a Dukakis presidency would be political.

Within the Democratic Party the political center of gravity is increasingly dominated by corporate money. The historic Democratic coalition of the poor and the middle class has been eroded by fragmented "special interest" politics permitting well-heeled corporations and business political action committees to dominate. The various left constituencies—the poor, the minorities, labor, feminists, environmentalists, peace activists—have lost influence within the party and within Congress. The low level of voter participation among the poor and minorities, in particular, has created a vacuum within the party that big business, real estate developers and the rich have filled. The erosion of the progressive income tax is probably the best index of this disturbing trend.

In short, the key agenda for the left is to force the next administration and Congress to create policy alternatives to warmed-over Carterism.

What next for Jackson coalition? Jackson's supporters must ask not only what will happen to Jesse Jackson as an individual, but also what will happen to the political/organizational forces his campaign mobilized? The Jackson campaign laid the foundation for an effective, ongoing progressive coalition that could survive the November election and become an important force within the country's politics. More than Jackson himself, it requires agreement that a permanent coalition is the best strategy and willingness to concentrate energy on building a coalition that can overcome the left's twin dilemmas of single-issue and candidate-centered politics. We call this approach a "party within a party" strategy.

The '80s witnessed a tremendous amount of progressive political activity. This included campaigns to regulate toxic chemicals in the workplace and community, to oppose U.S. aid to repressive governments abroad, for the nuclear freeze, for tenants' rights, to unionize office workers, to feed the hungry and house the homeless, for plant-closing laws and many others. Organizers for these efforts employed a wide variety of tactics and won some victories. The efforts mobilized millions of Americans, raised their political awareness and honed their activist skills.

Progressive electoral coalitions already exist in several states. They include groups like ACORN, the Rainbow Coalition and others; but most have been initiated by Citizen Action, a national organization with affiliates in more than 24 states. In at least 10 of them, Citizen Action affiliates have sought to pull together the various strands

of progressive forces such as unions, neighborhood and tenant groups, women's groups, minority organizations, environmentalists and senior citizens' groups. They are loose coalitions of existing organizations that come together to identify which candidates they can recruit and support, how best to pool their resources and how to enhance the agenda that each organization seeks to implement. If each organizational member of the coalition cannot support a candidate, then the coalition takes no position and each organization goes its own way.

Difficult task: This is not to suggest that uniting the Jackson national constituency and the Citizen Action-type local constituencies would be easy. Beyond the technical and ego problems is the question of what it means to be a part of these existing grass-roots organizations.

The millions who join Citizen Action or ACORN, for example, do not necessarily feel they are part of a movement and that joining is an expression of a shared ideological and political vision. The Jackson campaign was primarily an expression of black unity.

The forging of this coalition obviously involves great difficulties.

A successful "party within a party" strategy would link the momentum of the Jackson campaign and the efforts of these grass-roots movements into an ongoing coalition. There is already considerable overlap between Jackson's forces and these movements. But there is much to be worked out, and no one should expect a tight organization when there are so many "turf" issues—sources of funds, leaders, issues, loyalties to elected officials and so on. But Jackson's strength so far has been his ability to articulate vision, program and a sense of direction that adheres to the basic principles of the nation's fragmented progressive movement. If he decides to do so, and steps carefully, Jackson could help build a powerful progressive force within the Democratic Party that can have an impact on national policy.

Transforming the Democratic Party: It will take time to build a coalition that puts justice, equality and democracy at the center of American politics. We need millions of new citizens activated with a shared politics, new leaders elected and the Democratic Party transformed. It will require a great deal of diplomacy within the progressive movement to forge such a coalition in light of the many organizational and personal rivalries and pragmatic choices involved. But if there was ever a time for such a venture, it is now.

What would the progressive coalition do to achieve these idealistic goals? Here are some suggestions.

- Create a "shadow cabinet" composed of well-known policy experts. On a regular basis this group can evaluate and offer alternatives to the way the next administration—and subsequent administrations—does business. This "shadow cabinet" might include Jim Hightower as secretary of agriculture, Barry Commoner as secretary of energy or Ralph

Nader as secretary of commerce, to give a few examples. Numerous spokespersons help diffuse the dangers of the cult of personality, while recognizing the need for leadership.

- Create a weekly syndicated column for Jesse Jackson to provide a regular forum for his views and ideas on domestic and foreign policy.

- Engage in grass-roots voter-registration campaigns and efforts to reform state and local voter-registration laws.

- Compile a scorecard to rate elected officials' voting records on key issues of concern to progressives.

- In the spirit of maintaining a foothold both within and without the electoral system, it will not be sufficient to critique other other candidates and officials. In the long run, people espousing a democratization of the American economy will have to stand for office in much greater numbers.

This means that any organizations attempting to seize upon the opening created by the Jackson campaign will have to be on the lookout for vulnerable conservative incumbents, open seats and similar opportunities; and be able to recruit candidates—as much as possible from within progressive organizations—for offices at all levels of government, as well as campaign managers for those candidates. This may also involve the development of training centers for progressive candidates and campaign managers to help with the nuts and bolts of electoral politics.

- Hold conventions in between the Democratic Party's presidential nominating conventions. Since the official party eliminated the "midterm" convention, the progressives will have an opportunity to discuss issues, put forward a legislative agenda for Congress and lend support for candidates for Congress.

Many people attracted to Jesse Jackson's campaign and its issues will not be content simply to pull the Democratic Party lever. Activists will continue their organizing efforts—to build and democratize unions and community organizations, reshape universities, challenge environmental devastations, fight for peace and equal rights, fight against drug abuse and corporate irresponsibility.

The strength of the "party within a party" strategy is that by maintaining an independent political base it avoids the pitfalls of being completely absorbed by electoral politics, but gives the left an opportunity to have more direct influence over public policy.

Jesse Jackson has become the recognized leader of the nation's progressive movement. He has earned that mantle. At a time when Americans are looking for a new direction, a new sense of national purpose, a federal government that is compassionate and competent, Jackson has taken up the challenge. But he cannot and should not do it alone, and he cannot do it with only the organization he developed during the presidential campaign.

But Jackson *can*, if he desires, help build a coalition from the legacy of his own campaign and the strength of the existing progressive grass-roots network—a coalition that can reshape the party and the nation. ■

John Atlas is on the board of Citizen Action and is president of the National Housing Institute. **Peter Dreier** is director of housing at the Boston Redevelopment Authority. **Tom Gallagher**, a former Massachusetts state representative, is director of the New England Equity Institute, a progressive policy center.

Ghosts

By Eva Figes
Pantheon, 150 pp., \$16.95

By Pat Aufderheide

EVA FIGES BUILDS CHARACTERS from the inside. Sometimes she never gets to the outside, but you don't care. A well-known English author—of feminist non-fiction (*Patriarchal Attitudes*), self-consciously feminist fiction (*The Seven Ages*), and of fiction not intended to be overtly feminist

LITERATURE

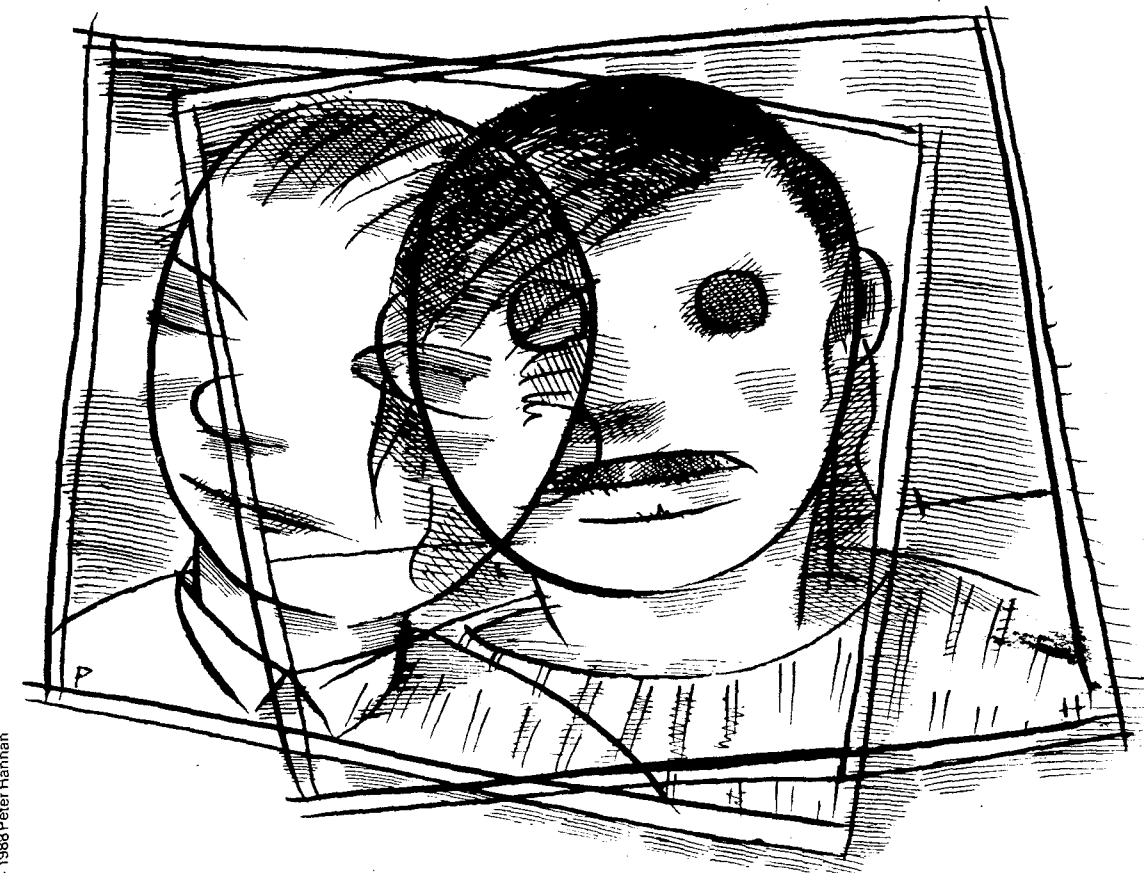
(Light)—she is too little known here.

I first became aware of Figes' work with *Waking*, a slender volume composed of vignettes that work like emotional photographs of a woman's life. The narrative occurs within the semiconscious state of a human being waking up, not quite sure where she is but intensely aware of everything around and within her. Smells in the air, colors, the feeling of exhaustion all become vivid; love, childbearing, aging all take on a crystalline specificity. You never know the name of that person, and you never need to.

The novel awakens within the reader an awareness of one's immediate presence in the world—a sense that everything in a normal day militates against. Whether you're concerned with getting to the babysitter or getting the press release out, or both, suddenly you're aware of the precious primordial fact of your own existence in a world whose greatest wonders are ever present.

Memory and moment: *Ghosts*, Figes' most recent work, echoes the style of *Waking*. Once again the narrator is unnamed, the viewpoint is of the partly submerged self, the events the tiny ones of daily life. In *Ghosts*, however, the emotional landscape is one primarily of aging and loss. Time, for this narrator has the elasticity of the old. The narrator's children, as babies, flit in and out of consciousness. The sight of punks on the street shocks her; "Where do they come from, these invaders from space?" she asks. "Fear is suddenly uppermost. Time has done this. I do not recognize this world. I live on the margin of death."

Memory and the moment mix, when the narrator visits her dying mother. The moment dredges up deep childhood hurt, and unanswered questions: "Somewhere inside that frail body, somewhere behind those cold eyes, the stubborn jaw, lurks my mother, the real parent I have never known. I want to draw her out, trick her, even now, into leaving her hiding place." The child in her still longs for a caress. "Touch me, I cry, but do not break the silence. And my skin aches for consolation, for what it has never known, my birthright. And I touch, for some-



c 1988 Peter Hannan

Eva Figes' spirited feminism: the specter of change awakes

thing to touch, the blue delphiniums rising out of the tall white vase. Having shifted the framed photographs on the mantelpiece, just slightly, I begin to rearrange the stems of blue flowers, light and dark." Here, as in *Waking*, living in the present is shown to be an act of striking courage.

Ghosts also describes with unpretentious lucidity how much the present is a thick weave of personal history. The narrator is sometimes astonished at her own aging, and sometimes surprised by the echoing images of the past that invade a moment. Occasionally she sees echoes into the future: "O brave new world, says the growing child, whilst the old man looks on, knowing how old it is. Youthful players speak words that others have spoken, as though for the first time."

This is a mature work, yet it retains the creative energy of Figes' earlier writing. Perhaps most surprising, given the subject matter, *Ghosts* is not depressing. Instead the narrator's solitary intensity allows us to realize what we share with others when we are most alone.

Eva Figes spoke with *In These Times* from New York about her writing and her work with the English writers' union.

The images in your books seem photographic or even cinematic. I respond very strongly to visual things. I would have liked to paint, but I didn't have much talent in that direction. When I'm writing I have a film going on in my head. I think it's

very important to make things come alive on the page, so it has immediacy. When I was younger I was quite interested in working in film, but the industry is so commercial it's so difficult.

The central character in *Ghosts* is nameless, but also very specific.

I'm interested in the basic human experiences that I assume other people relate to and that most people spend their lives trying to escape. I assume that human beings on the whole are more alike than different underneath, and it seems to me that if I didn't assume that I couldn't communicate at all.

In *Ghosts* I was trying to get across the sense of unreality that the process of aging imposes on one. The image I started out with is the feeling that everything becomes transparent with time. A double exposure, when both things become transparent—in a funny way because of that things matter less rather than more. When you're very young everything is tremendously bright and solid. I'm 56 now; many people who were a part of my life are no longer here, many parts of London have changed out of all recognition. I've got children who are grown up, and I have that strange feeling that I've lost my children. I still dream of them as very small.

How has your personal history, as the child of German refugees from the Holocaust, marked your writing?

I've never felt particularly English, and when I began to read prose and think seriously about writing, it was

European not English, which was at the time very old-fashioned. The war was a very early experience for me. As you can imagine, my parents were bitterly anti-German. I would say, "But you were German, too, and if you hadn't been Jewish then what would you have done?" My question was responsibility and guilt. I wrote an early novel on it, a sort of Kafkaesque novel about a stateless seaman. Although I didn't name places, it was intended to be Central Europe

Eva Figes



With unpretentious lucidity, *Ghosts* describes how much the present is a thick weave of personal history.

in the aftermath. And then I didn't return to the subject. Fiction for me is a form of problem-solving in a way, and I find that once I've written on a certain theme it doesn't bother me anymore.

Your non-fiction writing is quite distinct from your fiction. Do you find commonalities?

I used to vehemently believe that my political writing was very separated from my fiction. But after I wrote *Patriarchal Attitudes*, my fiction writing changed dramatically. There were certain areas I had been just too scared to go into, and I wasn't scared anymore. *The Seven Ages* was deliberately a political and feminist statement on history. Then I decided I didn't want to do non-fiction anymore. I decided to go into fiction that allows me to say things, politically and historically, and allows me to use my imagination.

Do you see yourself as part of a feminist movement?

Only in the most general sense. I have a bit of a quarrel with some younger feminists, because I think there are things in life that transcend feminism—love, pain and death—and are perhaps more important. I do see *The Seven Ages* as quite deliberately a feminist book, in a way *Ghosts* is not. I am doing another historical book, set in the 17th century, which has a feminist dimension.

You've been very active in the Writers Guild of Great Britain and were instrumental in passing legislation mandating royalties for writers from library use of their books.

It was a 25-year battle that began long before my time, with John Brophy and others. I've always been an activist in the Writers Guild of Great Britain and got involved with a fight about the public lending rights.

I feel that writers are basically very vulnerable in the marketplace, and we have to get together to improve things. It is hard to overcome writers' own resistance. People are very smug. They either think there's nothing they can do about it or they're doing fine and don't want to do anything about it.

I don't see any point in joining a union unless you do something, because the things don't do themselves. There's no point in paying a subscription and just waiting for something to happen. The main thrust now is to get better contracts. We have the minimum terms agreement, an ideal contract. We began five years ago by writing civilized letters, which got us nowhere, then we picked a publisher where we were strong and we had a strike. I was the chairman of the books committee at the time, so I had the experience of waiting, and then there was a break and W.H. Allen capitulated. You have to pick your target and know what chance you have of winning and why.

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Banana Diplomacy

By Roy Gutman
Simon and Schuster, 404 pp.,
\$19.95

By James North

The contra cabal's deadly circle of lies

YOU FINISH THIS BOOK WITH A stark realization: some high officials in the Reagan administration, some past and some present, could very plausibly be charged with war crimes for their Nicaragua policy over the past eight years. Much of the debate about Nicaragua has been over how the contras behave. Their supporters argue that the U.S.-supported guerrillas represent a wide spectrum of Nicaraguan society, and that only at times do they commit "excesses," which better "training in human rights" will end.

Amnesty International has another view. Roy Gutman's thorough new history of U.S. policy-making toward Nicaragua quotes an Amnesty International report that concluded that for the contras "targeted assassinations of government officials and real or supposed supporters, the abduction of civilians and the abuse or ill-treatment of captives, far from being isolated or questionable incidents, have become a constant feature of military operations."

Indeed, I remember visiting northern Nicaragua in 1984, just after the contras had stopped an unarmed coffee farmer named Noel Rivera, pulled out his fingernails one by one, and then murdered him; I wonder where better "training" fits in here.

Sustained deceit: Gutman's book deals only superficially with events inside Nicaragua. His great strength is the meticulous documentation of Reagan administration policy-making. The picture that emerges is of a record of deceit so sustained that it will surprise even those who have long opposed the Reagan administration. Some high officials lied to Congress, lied to the American people, lied to Ronald Reagan and even lied to each other. All the while, they planned and carried out an aggressive war against another country, an act that was defined as a war crime at the Nuremberg Trials. Without their illegal plotting, there would have been few if any contras inside Nicaragua to commit the atrocities that Amnesty International documents.

Gutman, who is a national security correspondent for *Newsday*, uses more than 400 interviews to develop his persuasive thesis. He depicts a constant battle within the Reagan administration between the right and the far right. Reagan's detached, hands-off management style gave an advantage to the more zealous far-right faction.

It sounds unbelievable that people like George Shultz or Thomas O. Enders, who helped coordinate the bombing of Cambodia in the early '70s, could have had enemies to their right. But these two, and others, including some generals, saw the contras as merely one more way to "pressure" the Sandinista govern-

ment into reducing Soviet and Cuban influence.

But the hard-liners never wanted to settle for less than the overthrow of the Sandinista government. Elliott Abrams said, "I want to be the first guy to reverse a communist revolution." Other key far-rightists included: William Casey, the late CIA director; Lt. Col. Oliver North; and Jeane Kirkpatrick.

Deadly syllogism: What they shared with Abrams, aside from arrogance, was a criminal lack of interest and knowledge about the real situation in Nicaragua. Gutman

NICARAGUA

explained why they pressured the opposition not to participate in the 1984 presidential elections. "They argued by syllogism," Gutman writes. "Communists never allow fair elections; the Sandinistas are communists; for the opposition to participate in elections will legitimize communist rule." (In fact, independent monitoring groups judged the elections to be remarkably open, given the wartime conditions. Arturo Cruz, who would have been a candidate for president, says today he regrets not running.)

Reagan's far-rightists made up for their willful ignorance about Nicaragua with their cunning at manipulating the lazy and docile U.S. president. Gutman argues that Casey gave Reagan deliberately misleading intelligence reports. North and the others formed an alliance with Reagan's speechwriters, fellow far-rightists like Patrick Buchanan, who put preposterous statements into the elderly president's mouth, such as having him call funding for the contras "one of the greatest moral challenges in postwar history."

Banana Diplomacy is particularly valuable because it puts the crimes of the far right into a coherent, readable narrative that makes far more sense than the charges and countercharges of daily journalism. Gutman recalls that even a conservative like former Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) described the harebrained 1984 effort to mine Nicaraguan harbors as "an act violating international law. It is an act of war."

Nor was "democracy" ever really the goal of this cabal. Gutman describes how the little group successfully turned to Saudi Arabia for some \$32 million in contra aid to keep the weapons flowing when Congress hesitated. Neither the Saudi princes, nor the hereditary Sultan of Brunei, to whom they also went begging for funds, could come anywhere close to meeting the specifications for "democracy" they were trying to impose on Nicaragua. Neither Abrams nor North complained about freedom of the press in Riyadh, the Saudi

capital, or sent fact-finding missions there to demand that opposition political parties take part in free elections.

Even with other Americans, the hard-liners were vicious and unprincipled. When Anthony Quainton, the ambassador in Managua, declined to go along with a story they concocted about supposed Sandinista anti-Semitism, they tried to fire him; Shultz only rescued his career in the foreign service by posting him to Kuwait.

What is frightening is how close this band of extremists came to success. Yet perhaps more remarkable is that despite the rise in opposition inside Nicaragua, due in part to the crippling U.S. economic pressure, the contra insurgency was never able to win over the disgruntled in appreciable numbers.

For the far-right cabal, "success" would have meant large-scale American military intervention. The scenario had been sketched out back in 1981 by Gen. Gustavo Alvarez, the de facto leader in neighboring Honduras. Alvarez, together with military advisers from Argentina, which was then still under a vicious dictatorship, had helped form the core of the contras from remnants of Somoza's national guard who had fled to Honduras. He hoped to use them to provoke the Sandinistas into a cross-border blunder that would prompt U.S. intervention.

The myth of reform: It is by no means proven that the hard-liners actually wanted an American inva-

sion, although their appalling ignorance of Nicaragua may have induced some of them to side with Alvarez. But no one wanted the World War I to break out the way it did, either. In a supercharged atmosphere of military buildup, one episode, even an accident, can set in motion a chain of events that leads to tragedy. American troops could, right now, be embroiled in a shooting war inside Nicaragua.

This terrible possibility was being helped along by another unlikely group. In 1986, a tiny coterie of ex-liberals and one-time leftists successfully persuaded enough Democratic Congress members to restore aid to the contras. This group, which included a writer named Robert Leiken and Bruce Cameron, a former lobbyist for the Americans for Democratic Action, apparently thought they were shifting the debate by emphasizing "non-lethal" aid and "reform" within the contra high command. (Leiken helped the cause along by grossly distorting the political reality of Nicaragua's situation in several widely circulated articles.)

This little group—Gutman reveals that their efforts were well-paid—won a few moments of fame for pur-

Far-right Reaganites compensated for their willful ignorance about Nicaragua with their cunning at manipulating the lazy and docile U.S. president.

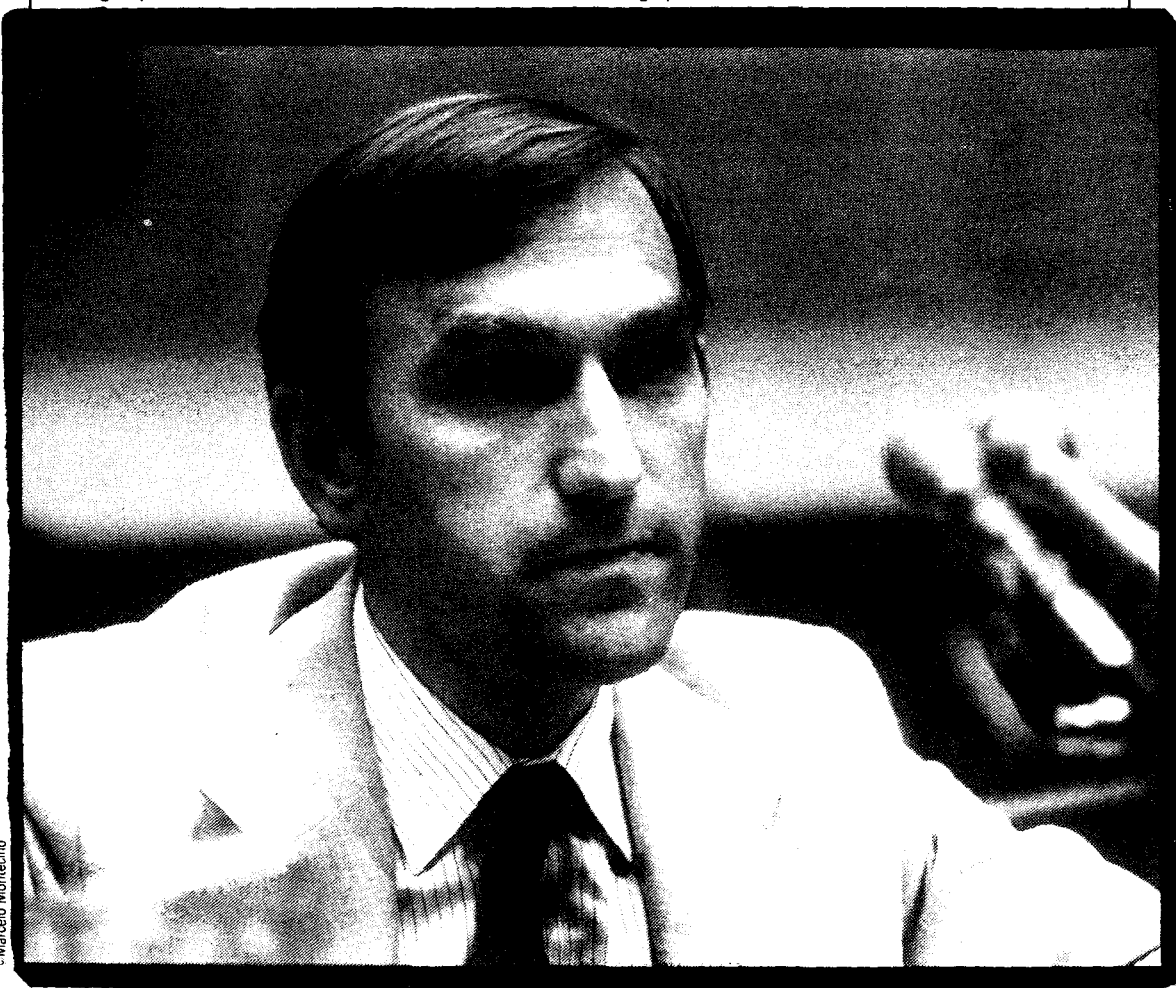
portedly showing the courage to break with orthodoxy. In fact, the far right was using them with what must have been contempt. The distinction between "lethal" and "non-lethal" aid was irrelevant; the Saudis could continue to buy the guns while the American taxpayers paid for the uniforms. Gutman shows that "reform" was a cynical fraud, meant only to reassure Congress. Arturo Cruz and other "reformers" have left the contras, whose de facto head today is Enrique Bermudez, once a colonel in Somoza's national guard.

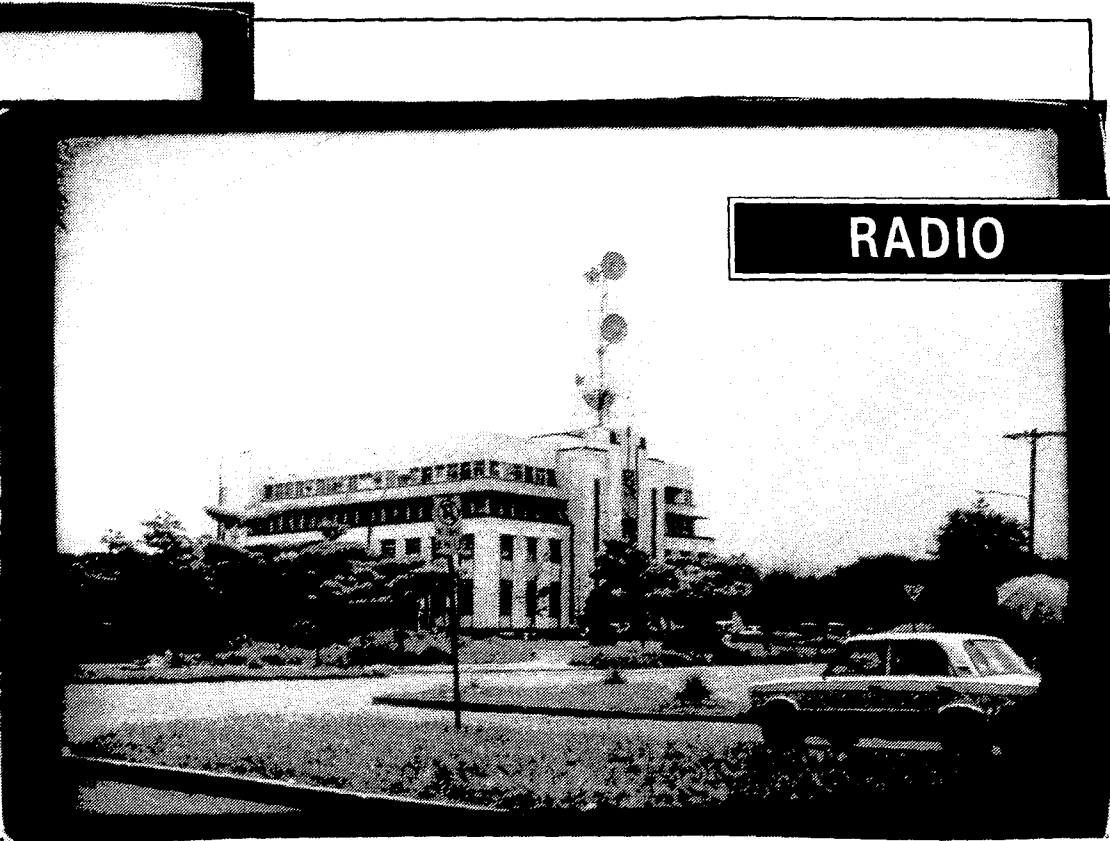
Only a lucky twist of fate sidetracked the far right. The Iran-contra scandal forced some of their members out of government. Nicaragua's willingness to compromise—something Gutman makes clear it has done all along—has helped give the Arias plan for a regional peace settlement a reasonable chance to succeed.

But the struggle to stop the far right is far from over. Elliott Abrams remains, inexplicably, at the State Department, even after lying to Congress, and there will be other unbalanced zealots around to replace Oliver North. Gutman points out that the Reagan administration pretended to negotiate with Nicaragua during the 1984 campaign so it would not frighten American voters; the lies and the threats started again as soon as Reagan won. George Bush has said little about Nicaragua during this campaign, even though he could have used it as a real issue to hit Dukakis for "liberalism" instead of relying on the Pledge of Allegiance. Bush's handlers recognize that a majority of Americans, even after eight years of lies, oppose aid to the contras. But what will Bush do if he wins the election? What will the people under him do? ■

James North has spent a total of two years in 16 Latin American nations.

Far-right point man Elliott Abrams: "I want to be the first guy to reverse a communist revolution."





RADIO

Broadcasters met in Managua to discuss the future of community radio: (above) Ministry of Culture; (at right) Ministry of Interior.

Richard Mahler

By Richard Mahler

Making waves worldwide

IT WAS 10:30 P.M. IN MANAGUA AND EVEN restless musicians from the Nicaraguan salsa band were tired of sitting. But the more than 300 community-oriented radio broadcasters preferred debating locations for their 1990 international conference to revving up their Saturday night wrap-up party.

"The future of the community radio movement lies in the Third World," pleaded one Latin American programmer, urging support for a

convention in Bolivia.

"If this meeting is held in the Western Hemisphere for a third consecutive time, we and many other Europeans will not attend," responded a Norwegian station executive in an ominous tone.

A few moments later the final vote at the late August meeting gave Dublin a comfortable victory, and with that, the third biennial AMARC con-

vention was history. The salsa band struck up a syncopated beat and delegates from 55 countries, lightheaded from a marathon 13-hour meeting, shifted to the dance floor of a repatriated *Somocista* country club.

AMARC is the French acronym for a four-year-old congress of community-based, mostly non-commercial radio stations sprinkled across the globe from Saskatchewan to São

Paulo, Sri Lanka to Senegal.

Egalitarian and active: Michel Delmorme co-founded *Association Mondiale des Artisans des Radios de type Communautaire* and was elected its new president at the convention. The Montreal-based organizer sees community radio as a distinctly populist medium. "It breaks down barriers between the listeners and the broadcasters," he said at the

convention's opening session. "It begins a process of communication that is egalitarian and active. Community radio is one powerful facet of resistance that can help to break the chains of passivity and isolation that maintain forces of oppression throughout the world."

Delorme, who also heads the Association of Community Radio Stations of Quebec, will be meeting with an eight-member steering committee over the next two years to negotiate AMARC's recognition by the U.N. as an official Non-Government Organization (NGO), eligible for UNESCO funding.

"We have taken the first rudimentary steps toward becoming an NGO," explained Nan Rubin, a New York-based member of the convention's steering committee. "We are hopeful that we'll complete that process by 1990."

Many of the 345 delegates attending this year's conference agree that recognition and financial support from the U.N. is critical to assure AMARC's survival. The group, like the stations it represents, has limped along on a shoestring budget since its founding in 1984. Pacifica Radio, represented on the steering committee by Bill Thomas, director of its program service, will co-host the first strategy session next spring in San Francisco in conjunction with its 40th-anniversary celebrations.

High-powered visitors: Even though Nicaragua did not officially sponsor the Managua gathering, the government provided translators, a plush conference center, transportation and plenty of high-powered visitors—including President Daniel Ortega. Answering a question critical of the shutdown of an opposition newspaper and radio station earlier this year, Ortega insisted, "It is not simply what the individual feels, it is the action of the individual within society which organizes the rights

Nicaraguan community radio: filling the communications gap in a war-torn land

When the regime of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza fell in 1979, the new government inherited 16 radio stations. These stations, along with two TV networks and a daily newspaper, had in most cases been owned by Somoza's family members or cronies.

Today those 16 radio stations, plus a handful of new outlets, are operated by CORADEP (*Corporación de Radiodifusión del Pueblo*, or People's Broadcasting Corporation). The government agency competes for listeners with the 28 privately held stations still on the air in Nicaragua.

But the CORADEP network is also up against at least as many radio signals from outside Nicaragua's borders, including CIA-supported *Radio Liberación* in El Salvador and a Spanish-language Voice of America station in Costa Rica. The more than 70 other AM and FM outlets range from the Voice of Honduras to Radio Colombia.

As in most other parts of Latin America, radio has more impact on the daily lives of Nicaraguans than does television. Domestic television signals reach only 60

percent of Nicaragua's territory, and even those who own TV sets frequently experience electricity problems.

Gregorio Landau, CORADEP's director of international relations, concedes that Nicaragua's geographic location makes it especially vulnerable to radio-based disinformation campaigns, unsympathetic news coverage and consumerist messages from outside its borders. "That's just the risk we take," said Landau. "We trust our people will exercise good judgment in making up their own minds about issues and events that affect them."

Popular correspondent: For example, the chief of *Radio Nuevo Segovia*, a 10,000-watt AM station near the Honduran border in Ocotal, stressed the critical importance of its programming in the day-to-day activity of Nuevo Segovia province.

"Remember that because of the war we have few working telephones or other means of personal communication," said Maria Chavez, one of only two female station managers in the country. "So people depend on us to send and receive very spe-

cific messages. Radio Nuevo Segovia may be the only way for a woman to tell her husband on the front that she is in the hospital, for example. Because we have been given that trust on a personal level, people tell us what else is going on in their communities."

These "popular correspondents" are the backbone of CORADEP's news-gathering system. When a farmer notices contra troops moving through his fields, a representative of the radio station is often the first person he contacts.

Radio Nuevo Segovia is the most powerful CORADEP station and one of the best equipped, despite a contra attack in 1986 that destroyed much of its studio—which was already a relic of the '50s and '60s.

Because of the U.S. trade embargo, replacement equipment is scarce and everything from microphones to tape is in short supply. Most stations operate with 1,000 watts of power or less, and they often operate for only a few hours a day.

"About 350,000 people live in our listening area, which includes

part of southern Honduras," said Jose Martinez, a member of the station's news staff, adding that an estimated 75 percent of the area's population tunes in *Radio Nuevo Segovia*.

During a recent visit, AMARC participants heard the station broadcast a live jam session by local folk musicians, a series of telegram-type personal messages, a baseball game play-by-play, various public service appeals and music from Costa Rica, Mexico, Colombia and the U.S., as well as Nicaragua.

Only in the major cities of Managua, León and Granada is the Nicaraguan economy strong enough to support a wide assortment of radio stations. There the dial is filled with outlets operated by the Catholic Church, political parties and universities, as well as private businessmen.

Ironically, the infrastructure of Nicaragua's radio system was set up in 1931 by the U.S. Marines, who were frustrated by telecommunications during a six-year occupation and campaign against guerrilla leader Augusto César Sandino.

—R.M.

of each to the benefit of all. Society limits those aspects of individual freedom that go against the common effort in all phases of life."

Ortega recalled that his father was once removed from a Somoza-controlled station for hosting a literacy improvement series. And he suggested that "American aggression is the real problem. If we had normal relations [with the U.S.], the stations could say anything. Then we could really let freedom of the press work."

On an individual level, however, most employees of Nicaragua's CORADEP (People's Broadcasting Network) say their commitment is more to their communities than to the Sandinistas as a political entity (see accompanying story).

Combing through a record library that includes recent hits by Michael Jackson, Vikki Carr and Lionel Richie, an announcer for *Radio Liberación* in Esteli recalled a meeting last spring between area farmworkers and station staffers.

"They complained to us about how late we signed on the air in the morning," said the disc jockey. "You need to be transmitting by 3:30 a.m. if you are to be a true community station," the group told us. So we did."

In countries where community radio is new, particularly underdeveloped nations, it tends to be more devoted to social change among the poor.

The radio gap: Yorma Mantula, who produces programs for a year-old FM outlet in Finland, said his visit to *Radio Liberación* convinced him that there's a wide gap within community radio that must be breached.

"The communications policies of individual countries are crucial to their success," said the Helsinki broadcaster. "Where this kind of radio has been possible for a long time, including the U.S. and Canada, the stations are strong and serve a very sophisticated and well-educated audience. In countries where it is new, particularly underdeveloped nations, it tends to be more devoted to social change among poor people."

At El Salvador's *Radio Faribundo Martí*, said international relations specialist Adam Rivas, the emphasis is on countering the high power and disinformation of well-financed government stations.

"We are constantly a military target," Rivas said. "Some of our staff members have been killed."

Such problems extend beyond Central America, however. "Our transmitter was sabotaged a few

months ago," said Esther Montgomery, coordinator of aboriginal radio at 2WX in Canberra, Australia.

"We are one of only two user-owned aboriginal radio stations in Australia," she said. Somebody who claimed responsibility for bombing the transmitter "rang up and said he hated blacks."

Montgomery paid her own way to AMARC 3 because "a lot of us [community broadcasters] don't even know the others exist. This is the first radio conference I've ever been to."

The common denominator: Leif Lonsman, director of program development for Danish National Radio, toured all 18 CORADEP stations before recommending to his government's foreign aid office that they support such broadcasters in Nicaragua and Sri Lanka.

"We must give people a tool to express themselves," he said. "But we don't need to follow a high-tech model. The common denominator is participation in all aspects of radio: engineering, programming and planning."

AMARC can now be expected to facilitate community radio's growth, according to William Barlow, a professor of broadcasting and film at Washington's Howard University who attended the conference. "Participation from the Third World at the first two AMARC conferences was marginal at best," he said. "This was a giant step forward. But there are still vast areas where there is no participatory radio per se, including almost all of Asia and Africa."

In much of the Third World, community radio struggles for survival in the guise of pirate or "liberation" stations, an unlawful existence paralleled 10 to 20 years ago by now-legal outlets in Scandinavia, France, West Germany and Switzerland. "They're going to have to go through the same process we did," said Susan Braine, program director of Anchorage, Alaska-based National Native News.

"We'll make the personal contacts [through AMARC] to develop support networks," said Helen Dizon, a producer for Co-Op Radio in Vancouver, British Columbia. "Then when a station in Japan is shut down, or a Bolivian station is attacked by the military, we can respond by organizing solidarity campaigns and putting pressure on governments and international bodies."

With that in mind, community broadcasters in Canada, Belgium, West Germany, Finland, Denmark and the U.S. say they are actively fund-raising for outlets in Nicaragua, Mozambique, Senegal and Sri Lanka to narrow the technological gap between First and Third World stations.

"We have the power to change lives," concluded Mario Orozco, a volunteer programmer for one of Mexico's seven community stations. "But to do it well, we must work together."

Richard Mahler writes frequently on communications issues.



Beirut: *The Last Home Movie*—a family is driven to escapism against a backdrop of war.

Using the vocabulary of fiction to depict fact

Beirut: The Last Home Movie

Directed and co-written by Jennifer Fox
Edited and co-written by John Mullen

By Karen Rosenberg

A SCARRED MANSION IN A HEAVILY bombed area of Beirut is the star of this documentary by New York filmmaker Jennifer Fox. A symbol of security, wealth and power, it ties a Greek Orthodox family, the Bustroses, to a war zone. As they repair their house and garden, they acquire a sense of purpose and a bond with their neighbors that they apparently lacked in peacetime.

Although this film played in Boston as part of the Institute of Contemporary Art's four-film series on the Middle East, it tells us relatively little about Lebanon. The Bustroses say almost nothing about politics, very likely to protect themselves and their home against reprisals in a constantly shifting situation. (Since the film was shot in late 1981 and early 1982, whatever they could have said might well be dated by now anyway.)

But the family's silence presents no problem to Fox, whose interest is the emotional emptiness in the

offspring of a cold and distant father. The only son seeks thrills in auto racing, the youngest daughter fills her boredom with travel, while the oldest is attracted to the beauty of destruction. The middle sister is married to the former husband of her elder sister, and they live, with their children, in the same house.

Hermetically sealed: There's something very American in this director's preference for psychology

FILM

over politics. We have a taste for family stories, the more eccentric the better, and Fox's cinematic style underlines the peculiarity of the family's position. For two hours, her film circles around the same images and

There is something very American in this director's preference for psychology over politics.

themes to reveal the hermetic quality of these lives. A chandelier is adjusted; father's photo fills the screen. The majestic beauty of the mansion is highlighted by the romantic cinematography of Soviet emigre Alex Nepomniashchy (now a Hollywood cameraman whose recent credits include *Poltergeist III*). We see a house as if through the eyes of its fanatically loyal inhabitants.

Viewers who come to this movie expecting a "documentary look" may leave disappointed, even angry. Fox has dispensed with many conventions of the non-fiction film: often speakers are not identified and occasionally it is hard to tell which sister is talking. And reportedly some explosions of bombs in the distance were added to the soundtrack later. But this liberty with reality, like the quick cuts between shots of fighting and the stately mansion, serves to keep the war—which the family is desperately trying to forget—ever present to the audience.

At 28, Fox is one of a new breed of documentary filmmakers who feel free to borrow from the vocabulary of fiction film. (Errol Morris, director of *The Thin Blue Line*, is another.) Her swan song of a fragile but tenacious society bears comparison with Bergman and Buñuel—and that's quite a compliment for the first feature-length work of a young artist.

Karen Rosenberg is a Boston critic who frequently writes on cinema and politics.

Bush

Continued from page 7

existing programs and Dukakis to increasing conventional weaponry.

More significant differences might be expected in economic policy, but here too experts don't see a chasm separating the two candidates, and some of the differences are not along conventional left-right lines. David Osborne, the author of *Laboratories of Democracy*, thinks that because of his pledge not to raise taxes Bush would have more difficulty than Dukakis in reducing the deficit. Osborne worries that, if anything, Dukakis would try to reduce the deficit too quickly.

Osborne also believes that Dukakis would be much more likely to use "moderate microeconomic policy" to nudge the economy along, while Bush would be constrained by free-market predilections.

The character question: In their outlooks, either party's presidential candidate represents an advance over Reagan. Both reflect a new post-Cold War consensus, both are inclining toward a more interventionist economic posture. But at the same time neither Bush nor Dukakis seems adequately prepared to deal with the trade and budget deficits, growing Third World debt, the precipitous decline of American industry, the decay of urban life and growing racial tensions. If, as many Democrats believe, George Bush is Herbert Hoover, then Michael Dukakis is certainly Al Smith—or even John W. Davis—rather than Franklin Roosevelt. Historians are likely to look back on this election as an irrelevant exercise—like the elections of 1840 or 1884.

There are also additional reasons to fear a Bush presidency. He has never been the kind of public official who carves out an independent path. As chairman of the Republican National Committee during Watergate, as CIA director in 1976 and as Reagan's vice president, Bush was adept at following rather than leading. His virtue was his lap-dog loyalty to his master. But if Bush is elected president and wants to steer his administration to the political center, he will have to resist noisy protests from the conservative right.

This will be of paramount importance if, as expected, the next president gets to nominate new Supreme Court justices. The court's nine members presently tilt slightly to the right. With three of the court's four liberal justices in their 80s, Bush would, if elected, be able to shape the court for at least two decades. Before becoming vice president, Bush was a moderate on social issues. But during the Reagan years and during the 1988 campaign he has committed himself to the new right's social agenda. If as president he nominated a justice who backs abortion rights or affirmative action, he would risk a right-wing revolt.

But at the Republican convention Bush demonstrated that he might not be willing to run that risk. He chose a right-wing nincompoop as his running mate, and he caved in to the hard right on platform positions that contradicted his own stated positions. During the campaign he has luxuriated in conservative support against his alleged liberal opponent. But if he wins in November he will face instant pressure from his erstwhile supporters.

And in the face of such pressure, Bush has never been one to stand up and say no. □

California

Continued from page 3

licans ever done for the poor in this country?"

His view was echoed, albeit in an odd way, by Earl Cantos, the affable young chair of the San Diego Republican Party. Dukakis, Cantos said, "has allowed us to define 'liberal,' and then he's tried to hide from it. I think he would have been much smarter to say, 'Yes, I'm a liberal, liberals believe in such and such, and all American people should be proud to be liberals.' Otherwise it looks dishonest."

But there hasn't been much talk of the L-word in California, at least not from the Democrats. Rick Davis, a member of Republican Gov. George Deukmejian's staff on loan to the Bush campaign as a state deputy political director, claimed that Bush's rise in the polls could be attributed to his campaign's successful identification of Dukakis as a member of the L-species.

"Democrats have a certain consciousness about identifying with a Republican too early," he said. "But now they're realizing that Michael Dukakis is much more liberal than they initially perceived him to be, and we're seeing a lot of crossover Democrats."

The states of California: Taking the "separate-nation" view of California, Republican strategists have subdivided it into four "states" of roughly equal population: the Republican "heartland" of San Diego and Orange counties; the Democratic stronghold of the San Francisco Bay Area; Los Angeles, Democratic at the core and Republican in the suburbs; rural California, home of the Reagan Democrats, "the swing voters who are really going to decide the election," in Davis' view.

With both sides targeting the Reagan Democrats, the California campaign has an unrelenting conservative slant. The rural Central Valley is bombarded with Bush ads on crime, gun control, furloughs and the death penalty. When Dukakis appeared with running mate Lloyd Bentsen on the steps of the state capitol in Sacramento the day after Dukakis' disastrous second debate, there were so many American flags that it looked like he had bought out the flag factory Bush had recently toured.

Dukakis talked tough. "I want an America that leads the world, militarily and economically," he told the cheering party faithful. "The two go hand in hand. You can't have one without the other."

Dukakis' hard-line speech played to the guys in the town bar of Dixon, a dusty locale 15 miles away, known largely to the outside world as the only place where you can get a decent Mexican meal between Sacramento and the Bay Area. The bar featured a wall display of every different size of bullet, but the political range was not nearly as varied. Most of the farmers still planned to vote for Bush, although one, Bob Hawk, said he'd "probably vote for Doo-kawkus" even after having voted for Reagan in 1980 and 1984: "I'm not sure why—I don't really like neither of them."

In the barbershop down the street, Louis Villalpando had not made up his mind yet, and while his customer favored Dukakis, he could not vote. Although he had lived in the country for 24 years, he had never become a citizen. According to the barber, the political character of Dixon is moving leftward with the influx in recent years of refugees from Chile and El Salvador—but they don't vote either.

This year's election in California may well

hinge on the success of both parties' voter-registration efforts. The Democrats have the lead, registering half a million new voters since June compared to the Republicans' 300,000. Their most effective tool was the officially non-partisan Center for Participation in Democracy, a Los Angeles-based organization that focused on minority registration and brought in 330,000 new voters statewide, most of them Democrats. According to Patrick Lynch, a young man coordinating the Center's Oakland office, its next project will be to help long-term permanent residents become citizens so that they too can register.

The Republicans, however, have had their own aggressive registration effort. In San Diego County, for example, they've enlarged their numerical superiority over the Democrats, even though Democrats have registered more in the city proper.

"We will win in San Diego even if we didn't do anything," boasts Republican San Diego County chair Cantos. "Overall we've registered more voters. It's only a matter of time before California becomes a Republican state overall."

San Diego is to Republicans what Oakland is to Democrats: a vast well of loyal votes. "We're hoping to turn out 70 to 75 percent of the Republican vote," said Cantos. "We have to win by a large enough margin to offset other areas of the state."

The issues that play well in San Diego, according to Cantos, are crime and defense: nearly one in four San Diegans is connected to the military or associated industries, and Dukakis' alleged softness on defense hurts him there. Dukakis muffed a chance to counteract that impression during a recent visit to the area. At the last minute his staff canceled his trip to a warship that had been moved to San Diego's Broadway Pier specifically for his visit.

"It's the marshmallow theory of politics," grouses Democratic campaign consultant Nick Johnson. "Why weren't they willing to make a statement and do that sort of thing? The Democrats win when they nominate tough people. If you don't appear strategically tough—candidates like Adlai Stevenson, George McGovern or Walter Mondale—you lose."

On October 22 the state's Democratic grass-roots forces gathered for the formal swearing-in of the precinct captains. In Oakland nearly 400 people crowded into the party's downtown headquarters. Unlike many other parts of the country where the Jackson forces have not been successfully integrated into the Dukakis campaign, Oakland looked like Rainbow Redux.

"This is the way Michael Dukakis will win in California," said local field operations director Carla Dillard Smith, to thunderous applause. Frank Russo, chair of the Alameda County Democratic Party, said he is looking for a margin of 120,000 to 150,000 votes in the county "to offset what goes on behind the Orange curtain" in Southern California.

Experience has shown that a grass-roots campaign can be the winning element in a horse race, but it cannot bring a dead horse back to life. The latest state polls show Dukakis trailing Bush by 9 percent, after leading him by 16 points after the Democratic convention. Unless Dukakis can cut that lead by at least half, no amount of grass-roots effort will keep the Big Enchilada off the Republican table. □

Paul Rauber is a political reporter and columnist for the *East Bay Express* in Berkeley, Calif. **Cyrus Musiker** contributed to this article.

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NEWARK November 5

Artists' Festival Against Apartheid. Featuring Odette, Serious Bizness, Women of the Calabash, Little Steven, the Lumzy Sisters, Jenkins Brothers, Professor Louie, Punto y Voz, Cheryl Clarke, Amiri Baraka and others. Symphony Hall, 1020 Broad St., Newark, NJ. \$10 general admission; \$35 all day. Proceeds benefit victims of apartheid, U.S. social injustice. (201) 643-8009 for tickets, info.

EVANSTON, IL November 11

Amnesty International's Evanston Group will be hosting a symposium on Human



Rights Under Perestroika: Practices and Prospects, on Friday, Nov. 11 at the First Baptist Church of Evanston, 607 Lake Street. Among the panelists will be a representative of the U.S. State Department and a representative from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC. The forum will include an overview from each representative of current human rights conditions in the Soviet Union and an estimation of where things are headed. In addition, there will be an open discussion period for questions and comments from the audience. Admission is free.

NEW YORK CITY December 3

"Women in Unions: Rights and Realities," strengthening working women's participation in, and control of, their unions. Speakers: Margarita Aguilar (NYU Clericals), Ida Torres (RWDSU), Susan Jennik (AUD), Cynthia Long (Electricians), others, including educators, public employees, carpenters, hospital workers, etc. 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Saturday, Dec. 3, 330 W. 42nd St., \$10 registration. For information call Association for Union Democracy, (718) 855-6650.

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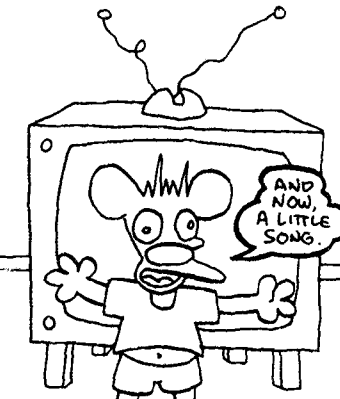
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Folkways: A Vision Shared

Various Artists
(Columbia Records)

By Ken Takata

THE MACHINERY THAT DISSEMINATES POPULAR music (i.e., the record companies, radio) is notorious in its disregard for songs that have already passed their allotted time on the Top 40. This context makes *Folkways: A Vision Shared* seem like an anomaly; no other recent major release has anywhere near the historical reach and ambition of this album.

Subtitled *A Tribute to Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly*, the record is also a tribute to the recording institution most closely associated with both performers, Folkways Records, and to that company's founder and proprietor, Moses Asch. The initial pretext for the album was Asch's death in 1986. At that time, Asch left behind more than 2,100 records that he produced and supervised during his 50-year career, records documenting almost every brand of American folk music. Unfortunately, he left no clear successor and thus, at his demise, there was the imminent danger that Folkways' enormous catalogue would fall into disarray.

To avert such a disaster, Bob Dylan proposed a benefit album for Folkways. The project's proceeds would go to the Smithsonian Institution, enabling it to purchase and maintain Folkways Records and the Woody Guthrie Archives. The format of the record, true to the spirit of the occasion, would be Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly songs, but this time they would be recorded by contemporary performers.

All-star folks: The resulting album will no doubt secure the financial future of Folkways Records for a long time to come (a partial list of the performers involved includes Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, U2 and John Mellencamp). From a musical standpoint, however, the album secures no one particular future because it poses more questions than answers, questions that most popular music has avoided. Namely, what connects music of today with a historical past? What impression do folk music and country blues, recorded 50 years ago, have on pop music now? And with respect to this album in particular, what is Woody Guthrie's legacy?

That question, when posed in relation to the life work of Moses Asch, had a large but definable answer. Asch's legacy was simply the gigantic collection of music he amassed and his role in propagating that collection. But what is one to conclude about Guthrie? On the simplest level, one of mass recognition, his legacy can in a way be compressed into his greatest hit, "This Land Is Your Land." One characteristic pervades not only this song but also so many of Guthrie's pieces: we know Guthrie wrote "This Land Is Your Land," but the song doesn't sound as if it has any one definable author. Or in other words, we can trace the work's origin (it was written in New York in 1940), but something beyond history pervades the piece. The song sounds as if it's public domain; it seems to belong to everyone.

John Steinbeck, in writing about Guthrie, tried to explain this quality in his work by remarking that Guthrie and his songs were the voice of the working people. Critic Peter Guralnick, who wrote the liner notes for *Folkways*, also attempted to account for the way Guthrie's work seemed to

A new generation pays tribute to Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly.

speak not just for one man but for a whole people by attributing this quality to the way Guthrie's songs worked within a distinctly American idiom.

But Guralnick goes further than Steinbeck, saying that Guthrie represented a "commitment to a progressive social tradition, a belief...in the necessity of struggle." Or in other words, Guthrie spoke a common language because he wrote in the vocabulary of a vital democracy. Guthrie's greatest legacy according to this perspective was the way his songs worked within an agenda of progressive social policy, the way his songs worked as protest against any number of hardships and injustices, whether they be the Dust Bowl or unfair labor and banking practices.

Protests within protests: Although that

identifies the central legacy of Guthrie's work—the way it works as protest—it doesn't go far enough in explaining just how that protest worked in Guthrie's songs and what its implications are. It's important to note that of all the texts that documented Americans living in the Depression (such as Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* and James Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*), Guthrie's was the only one that achieved wide currency using the language and the artistic form (the folk song) common to those Americans. But what's equally worth noting is that as much as Guthrie protested against the external forces that displaced thousands of Okies in the mid-'30s, he also protested against the very language of those Okies and the songs they sang.

Joe Klein in his biography of Woody Guthrie astutely observed that the origin of Guthrie's horrifying song, "I Ain't Got No Home in This World Anymore," was in fact the Baptist hymn, "This World Is Not My Home," popularized by the Carter Family. As the song originally stood, its lyrics were:

*This world is not my home, I'm just
a-passing through*

*My treasures and my hopes are all beyond
the blue*

*Where many Christian children have gone
on before*

*And I can't feel at home in this world any-
more.*

What disturbed Guthrie about "This World Is Not My Home" was its passivity, its willingness to accept any worldly indignity as a portent of religious salvation. To protest that passivity, he found that he had to protest the song itself. As he revised the song, he kept its melody and its upbeat tempo but altered the lyrics:

*I ain't got no home, I'm just a-roaming
'round*

*I'm just a wandering worker, I go from
town to town*

*The police make it hard wherever I may go,
And I ain't got no home in this world
anymore.*

The effect is an extraordinary tension built on the way Guthrie poses side by side the absolute tragedy of his lyrics and the jaunty, almost incongruous flow of his melody. But what happens when Guthrie binds these two elements is that a hole opens up in the song, an abyss with no resolution in sight. This abyss is at the heart of Guthrie's protest and is part of his greatest legacy. **All the rage:** You can hear that abyss in John Fogerty's greatest work (*Green River*, *Willie and the Poorboys*, "Who'll Stop the Rain?") in the form of this gesture that materializes repeatedly in his songs: Fogerty simultaneously looking over his shoulder at the tradition he has come from and using that musical tradition to look ahead at whatever catastrophe may await him.

This is also the gesture that dominates the most acute renditions on *Folkways*, Bruce Springsteen's interpretations of "Vigilante Man" and "I Ain't Got No Home." Faced with the interpretive dilemma that "I Ain't Got No Home" posed for Guthrie—how to reconcile its words with its melody—Springsteen here arrives at his own solution. He slows down the tempo and almost whispers lines such as "My darling wife to heaven she has flown/She died of a fever upon the cabin floor," singing the song in terms that tell you that the song's narrator has come to expect this sort of tragedy. The result is a heightened sense of loss and horror that Guthrie's original only suggested.

On "Vigilante Man," Springsteen chooses a completely different approach. Faced with the same interpretive dilemma, the same abyss, this time he screams out, "Why does a vigilante man carry that sawed-off shotgun in his hand? Would he shoot his brother and his sister down?" replacing the wry stoicism of Guthrie's original with a tone of utter rage.

Put together, these two interpretations represent the farthest extremes not only of *Folkways: A Vision Shared*, but also of the protest within Guthrie's work. It was a protest that confronted not only the external disasters that the Okies faced but also the Okies themselves and their language and culture. It was a protest that held at its center a tension created by the song's words and its melody. From that tension comes an opening that has kept Guthrie current and has made his songs particularly open to interpretation.

That opening and Guthrie's challenge to future performers are his truest legacy. ■

Ken Takata is a Chicago-based critic.

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